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HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
OF
AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

VOL. III.

HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
OF
AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE AT SOFALA
IN SEPTEMBER 1505 TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CAPE
COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER 1795,

BY
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HISTORIOGRAPHER

IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH MAPS AND PLATES

VOL. III.

THE CAPE COLONY TO 1795, THE KORANAS, BANTU, AND
PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO 1800

Alfred He[illegible]
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For a long time past the winefarmers had been making complaints of there being no sale for the produce of their vineyards, then from two to four thousand leggers of five hundred and seventy-six litres each a year; and to relieve them the directors had resolved, if no other remedy could be devised, to substitute wine for spirits to a large extent in their ships and Indian establishments, provided it could be obtained of moderately good quality. The burgher councillors, on behalf of the farmers, addressed the governor-general Van Imhoff on this question. The governor-general offered them free trade in India, upon payment of 16*s.* 8*d.* freight and £2 10*s.* 0*d.* duty a legger. The burghers replied that such a privilege would be of no use to them. The governor-general then proposed that the tax on wine should be increased from 4*s.* 2*d.* to 12*s.* 6*d.* a legger; that upon payment of this and a fee of 4*s.* 2*d.* to the fiscal and of £1 0*s.* 10*d.* a legger to the licensed dealer, the burghers should be at liberty to sell without let or hindrance to all visitors, Dutch or foreign, at the best price they could obtain; and that the Company should purchase at £5 5*s.* 10*d.* a legger sufficient for its own needs, which would be on an average about four leggers for each ship leaving the port, in addition to a quantity to be sent to the Netherlands and to Batavia for ships coming to the Cape and for the use of the workpeople in India. With this proposal the burgher councillors on behalf of the farmers expressed themselves satisfied.

The question of a market for other produce than corn and wine then came on for discussion. The governor-general proposed to reduce the price of peas to £1, and of beans to 16*s.* a muid, and offered on behalf of the Company to take as much as they chose to grow at those prices. Whatever was not needed for the use of the ships could be sent to Batavia. To this arrangement also the burgher councillors agreed.

Since 1722 the officers of government at the Cape had been permitted to have gardens for their own use, not exceeding two morgen in extent; but they were prohibited from selling anything out of them or of trafficking in any manner whatever with farm produce. Their salaries were insufficient for their decent maintenance, but they had been allowed to trade in various kinds of foreign wares on their own account. The governor-general prohibited further trading, and as compensation allowed the officials certain fixed sums on different transactions. Thus, for every legger of wine purchased by the Company from the farmers, a sum of £2 1*s.* 8*d.* was to be divided between the governor and the secunde in the proportion of two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter. In practice it came to this, that a farmer who delivered a legger of wine for exportation or for the use of the Company's ships signed a receipt for £8, but actually received only £5 5*s.* 10*d.*, 12*s.* 6*d.* being deducted for the Company, £1 7*s.* 9*d.* for the governor, and 13*s.* 11*d.* for the secunde. The fiscal had corresponding privileges in issuing licenses to trade, and trifling perquisites were also allowed to some of the junior officers, who were really in a pitiable condition as far as their purses were concerned.

No official document could be drawn up for a burgher without a heavy fee being paid. This was an ever increasing evil, for the fees were constantly being augmented. Thus, a few years later, a certificate of release from the service of the Company had to be written on a stamp of 12*s.* 6*d.*, and the secretary of the council of policy received £2 1*s.* 8*d.* for drawing it out and signing it.

The practice of using different money from that of the Netherlands opened a door to what would now be termed fraud, but what was in those days regarded as a legitimate perquisite of the officers of government. In the accounts, which after 1738 were kept in rixdollars and stivers, two and a half Dutch gulden of twenty stivers each were equal to one rixdollar. But at the Cape and throughout India a fictitious gulden, of which there was no metallic representation, was in use. In receiving money for taxes or goods, three of these were counted as one rixdollar. But in paying out money—for instance to a Cape farmer for grain—the fictitious gulden was reckoned at sixteen stivers, thus giving to the officer in charge of the granaries a perquisite of four per cent upon the value of the transaction. In converting the money of the old records into British coinage, the fictitious gulden must therefore sometimes be taken at one value, sometimes at the other. Before 1770 there was no attempt to rectify this evil. Another perquisite—considered legitimate—was receiving grain at a heavier weight the muid than it was debited to the Company. The last or load, in which the accounts were kept, at this time consisted of seventeen muids, a few years later of eighteen muids and a half. The muid, as charged to the Company, weighed one hundred and seventy-five Amsterdam pounds, as delivered by the farmer, weighed from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety pounds.

The colonists were constantly taking possession of new tracts of country and laying them out in cattle runs never less than five or six thousand English acres in extent, for each of which they paid to the Company a yearly rent of £2 10*s.* before 1732, and £5 after that date. Upon the slightest fault being discovered in a cattle run, the occupier did not hesitate to abandon it and move to another farther in advance. A vast region, almost untenanted except by Bushmen since the desolation of the coast belt by smallpox in 1713, lay open before the colonists.

The governor-general Van Imhoff regarded this condition of things as boding no good to the future of the European race in South Africa. In his opinion it would tend to unsettle the colonists and turn them into a body of half barbarous nomads. To attempt to fix the people to the soil, he issued instructions that any one who so desired could convert sixty morgen (126·99 acres or 51·39 hectares) of ground about his homestead into freehold property, upon application to the council of policy and payment of from £10 8*s.* 4*d.* to £41 13*s.* 4*d.* according to the value of the land. The remainder of the farm was to be held as before; its use, as long as it was not required by the Company, being allowed upon payment of a yearly rent of £5. This measure, though well intended, had not much effect, as very few farmers availed themselves of it.

The governor-general regarded the introduction of negroes into the colony as a very serious evil, but he could devise no means of rectifying the condition of things which their presence caused. In a memorandum which he drew up on the 25th of February 1743 for the use of the directors, he regretted that Europeans in large numbers were not sent out in the early days of the settlement, as in that case some of them would have been obliged to labour with their hands, and things would then be very much better. The introduction of slaves had caused every white man, no matter how humble his birth, to regard himself as a master, and unless paid at an extravagant rate he expected to be served instead of serving others. Masons and carpenters often demanded four shillings and even four shillings and six pence a day, with their food, and withal would only do half as much work as in Europe. Farm labourers were not to be had at any wages. Most of the holders of land were not farmers at all in the sense in which that word was used in the Netherlands, but masters of plantations, and would consider it a disgrace to toil. There was no help for it, however, as negroes had been imported, and the system could not then be changed.

Before 1743 there was outside of Capetown but one seat of magistracy in South Africa. Over all the wanderers who were pushing their way inland the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch legally held jurisdiction, but practically many of them were beyond the reach of law. On the 12th of November of this year four heemraden were appointed to form a court of justice for the residents beyond the lower Breede river. Their names were Cornelis van Rooyen, Jan Loots, Andries Holtshausen, and Jacobus Botha. They were selected out of a double number nominated by the board of landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, as it was at first intended that for general purposes they should sit in that court.

In January 1744 Mr. Johannes Theophilus Rhenius, previously a bookkeeper in the Company's service, was appointed assistant landdrost and secretary in subordination to the landdrost of Stellenbosch. Almost immediately a dispute arose concerning the rank of the officials. The heemraden maintained that Mr. Rhenius, being their secretary, was beneath them in dignity, while he on his part contended that as assistant landdrost he was their superior officer.

The question was referred for settlement to Governor Swellengrebel and the council of policy. They decided that when the court sat to hear judicial cases Mr. Rhenius was to preside, but when it sat to arrange district affairs the oldest heemraad present was to occupy the chair.

This arrangement did not answer at all. But on the 31st of August 1745 the dispute was brought to an end by the formation of a new magisterial district, and the elevation of Mr. Rhenius to the full rank of landdrost. The number of heemraden was increased to six, owing to the great size of the new district, the eastern and northern boundaries of which were not otherwise defined than "where the power of the honourable Company ends." Half of the heemraden retired every year, after sending a list of six names to the council of policy, from which list their successors were chosen by that body.

There was as yet no place selected for the seat of the new magistracy, and for a time the court met at the residence of one of the heemraden. The government wisely left this to be arranged by the court itself. Some excellent sites were already occupied as farms, but it was not deemed advisable to eject government tenants. The board of landdrost and heemraden prudently took time, and only after much inspection and discussion was a site agreed upon. Application was then made to the governor and council, by whom on the 25th of October 1746 permission was given to use the ground selected and to put up such buildings as might be needed.

Mr. Rhenius and the district councillors chose a charming locality. From the Langebergen issue at various places little streams of clear fresh water, feeders of a river which drains a valley stretching from the Warm Bokkeveld to the sea. One of these streams which, for want of a more original name, was called the Cornlands river, winds through a dell some kilometres in length before it unites its waters with those of the Breede. Here, with the mountains close in front and rich soil capable of being irrigated around, a drostdy and other necessary buildings speedily arose. At the present day the village, with its scattered houses and gardens on each side of a single winding street, extends quite five kilometres along the vale, but in the middle of the eighteenth century few people could maintain themselves except by farming, and hence many years elapsed before it could fairly be called more than a hamlet. It received a name in 1747, as on the 26th of October of that year the council of policy decided that the district should be called Swellendam, in honour of the governor and his lady, and in conformity with the usage of the time the seat of magistracy took the same name. Building sites for the use of persons not in the government service were first surveyed in 1750.

On the 31st of August 1745, when the district of Swellendam was formed, the dividing line between it and the district of Stellenbosch was laid down by the council of policy from Zoetendal's Vlei on the seacoast to Tigerhoek in the range of mountains along the southern base of which the river Zonderend flows, thence to the junction of the Breede and Hex rivers, and thence the Hex river to its source. The dividing line between the districts of the Cape and Stellenbosch was made the Keyser's river as far up as the farm of Jacob Diederiks, instead of the Kuils river as previously. Farther north the dividing line was not named in any other way than that certain localities were mentioned as being under the jurisdiction of the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch. But that definition was sufficiently clear. According to it, to the Cape district was assigned the territory south of the Berg river and enclosed between the sea and a line running along the western base of Riebeek's Kasteel to the Keyser's river. The northern boundary of the colony was left undefined.

On the 15th of October 1743 the Indian authorities issued instructions to reduce the price of wheat delivered at the Company's magazines at the Cape to 9*s.* 4*d.* the muid. Thereupon some of the most substantial farmers in the country assembled at Stellenbosch to confer with the burgher councillors and heemraden, and endeavour through their solicitation to obtain a higher price.

They represented that the ordinary work of the agriculturist was performed by his slaves, but at harvest time he required more labourers. These he obtained by hiring slaves from the townspeople at the rate of from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* a day. If he needed the services of a European mason or carpenter, he had to pay from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a day, in addition to food, though occasionally an inferior workman could be hired at £2 a month. After paying wages at this rate, and deducting the Company's dues, he could not sell wheat at 9*s.* 4*d.*, as even in the most favourable seasons the actual cost of production in labour, cattle, and implements was 8*s.* 2*d.* a muid. The burgher councillors and heemraden were of the same opinion, and they petitioned the Indian authorities to raise the price again to 10*s.* 8*d.* In June 1745 the governor-general and council of India agreed to what was asked of them.

The farmers were now in this position. The Company purchased from them as much ordinary wine as it needed at £5 5*s.* 10*d.* a legger clear, and as much wheat as it needed at 10*s.* 8*d.* a muid, from which was deducted the tithe, calculated upon the last census returns made. They could sell surplus produce to any one who chose to buy, upon paying first the tithe dues upon grain and 12*s.* 6*d.* upon every legger of wine, secondly £1 0*s.* 10*d.* a legger to the licensed dealers in wine if this article was sold to the master or purser of a ship, and thirdly a fee to the fiscal when ships' people were purchasers of produce.

Complaints of the quality of the wine were frequently made by the Indian authorities. The directors sent out skilled persons from Europe to instruct the farmers in its proper manufacture, and the authorities at the Cape tested every legger that was purchased, but the complaints continued as before.

In 1744 M. La Bourdonnais, governor of the French island of Mauritius, proposed to the council of policy at the Cape a free exchange of the productions of the two countries, and stated that fifty or sixty leggers of wine would be needed yearly by the colony under his rule, exclusive of the shipping. The council replied that they could not establish a regular trade, nor receive the produce of Mauritius in barter; but that Frenchmen could purchase at the Cape as much wine as they chose, upon paying cash for it, and could then remove it at their pleasure.

The farmers were generally in such a condition that the accumulation of wealth was impossible. In 1750 the directors mooted the subject of increasing the number of colonists, and the council of policy called for reports. The reply of the board of heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein is dated 11th of January 1751. In it the heemraden expressed their opinion that there were too many European families then in the country to get a good living, and that people were anxious about the future for their children's sake. The burgher councillors went to the very root of the matter. In their reply they stated that they knew of no means by which a greater number of people could obtain a living, unless free exportation of produce to all countries was permitted.

In their report the heemraden incidentally referred to the change then rapidly taking place in the old settled districts in the disappearance of grass and the springing up of small bushy plants in its stead.

The village of Stellenbosch was by this time quite embowered among its oaks. It had been quickly rebuilt after the fire of 1710, and all travellers who now visited it described its beauty in glowing terms. The board of landdrost and heemraden acted as a court of justice, and performed also the duties which are now undertaken by municipal and divisional councils. A few of its enactments will illustrate its powers and the way in which it used them.

A contract was made with a farmer to place a pontoon upon the Berg river and to keep in repair the road over the Roodezand pass, for which he was to receive yearly from every family residing beyond the Berg river either a muid of wheat or eleven shillings in money.

In December 1742 permission was given to the burgher Pieter Wium to open a butcher's shop in the village, on the following conditions. Every Wednesday and Saturday he was to offer for sale good wholesome fresh mutton at the rate of two pence for a single pound (453·6 grammes), or six pence halfpenny for two kilogrammes, and to refuse no one at that price. Four times a year he was to offer beef for sale at the same rates. Failing these conditions he was to pay a fine of £5 to the deacons for the benefit of the poor.

Some of the burghers were in the habit of grinding their corn with hand mills or little water mills of their own construction. From this custom the board anticipated a serious decrease in the price paid for the leases of the public mills at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, which carried with them the exclusive privilege of grinding all the corn consumed within fixed limits at certain stated charges. The district was then receiving £126 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for the lease of each of these mills. Yet the members of the board were very willing to assist their fellow burghers, if it could be done without affecting the revenue, and generally an arrangement was made that the owner of the hand mill should satisfy the lessee, and be allowed to grind his own corn. As an instance, it it is recorded that the burgher Michiel Otto, of Hottentots-Holland, petitioned to be allowed to grind sufficient corn for the use of his household with a small water mill which he had erected on his farm. His request was acceded to, upon condition that he should pay to the miller of Stellenbosch the same fees as if he had his corn ground at the district mill, and that this permission should not form a precedent.

The convulsions in Europe which followed the death of the emperor Charles VI (20th of October 1740), and which began by the king of Prussia invading Silesia, argely affected the Dutch East India Company. In

September 1744 despatches were received at Capetown announcing that France and England were at war, and that there was a likelihood of the Netherlands being involved at no distant date. The council was informed that the Company had resolved to construct a line of fortifications along the shore of Table Bay, and to strengthen the garrison of the Cape.

The fortifications then existing consisted of the castle and a battery on the shore where the breakwater now runs into the bay. The latter was commenced in February 1715 and completed in April 1726. It was at first termed Mauritius, but afterwards came to be popularly called the Chavonnes battery, a name which was officially conferred upon it in November 1744.* On the opposite side of the castle a fort was being built, the foundation stone of which was laid on the 24th of October 1743. It was completed in October 1744, and received the name Fort Knokke, which it still bears.

A line of batteries was now thrown up along the shore, none of which remain at the present day. One, named the Imhoff, was intended to cover the face of the castle, and rose from the margin of the sea, where the waves in winter storms dashed against its walls. Its foundation stone was laid on the 23rd of November 1744, and the cannon were mounted on it in July of the following year.† The others were less solidly built. There were four between the castle and the mouth of Salt River, named Swellengrebel, Elizabeth, Helena, and Tulbagh. Between the castle and the Chavonnes battery there was one, called Heeren Hendriks Kinderen, on which ten guns were mounted.

During the time that it was feared the colony might be attacked by an enemy, the burghers of the country districts were required to furnish a contingent of fifty mounted men to assist in keeping guard at the Cape. Every month they were relieved by fifty others, so as to make the task less heavy for individuals. It was felt as a great relief by the burghers, however, when on the 26th of September 1748 the British man-of-war *Tartar* brought intelligence that a truce had been arranged between the belligerents, and a little later the conclusion of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle permitted them to be relieved of military duty. A temporary outpost at St. Helena Bay, which had been established to give notice of any ships that might touch there, was broken up at the same time. The Waveren outpost, which had been maintained since 1700, was withdrawn in October 1743, when the building with sixty morgen of ground about it was sold by auction to Pieter de Vos for £266 13*s*. 4*d*. The other military outposts—Saldanha Bay, Klapmuts, Groenekloof, Ziekenhuis, and Rietvlei—remained as before.

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* It was broken down when the harbour works were commenced.

† It was broken down in 1896, when a considerable extent of ground outside it was reclaimed from the bay. A small saluting battery was erected near the site, which can only be seen from the sea.

In November 1740 a good deal of excitement was created at the Cape by a report from a man named Frans Diederik Muller, who professed to be an experienced mineralogist, that he had discovered a rich silver mine at Groot Drakenstein, close to Simonsberg. The governor immediately left to inspect the locality, and was persuaded by Muller that ore was to be had in enormous quantities, only requiring capital to extract it. As the Cape government could not incur the estimated expense without authority from the directors, an association was formed by some burghers to work the mine. This met with the approval of the assembly of seventeen, and early in 1743 a charter was granted to Mr. Olof de Wet, for himself and his associates, in which they were granted the exclusive right of searching for and extracting metals within the area bounded by the Paarl, French Hoek, and Hottentots-Holland mountains, upon condition of paying to the Company fifteen per cent of everything valuable obtained and delivering the surplus at prices which were specified for almost all known metals.

Mr. De Wet, who was the chief director of the mining association, then engaged a large number of men to whom the government had granted passes for the purpose, and the work of prospecting in the mountains and excavating at the so-called silver mine was commenced. Muller was engaged as master miner. For more than five years the clever rogue managed to keep up the hopes of his employers without producing anything valuable. The ore which was found he first pronounced to be silver, then he termed it copper, and finally he asserted it to be gold. At this stage some of it was sent to Holland to be tested by competent persons, when it was found to contain only "a very inexpensive metal which was mixed in small quantities with other materials in casting bells to improve their sound." The work then ceased. Muller was brought before the council, who declared him an impostor, confiscated his property, and banished him to Batavia. The pits and underground passages, which had cost the association a great deal of money, are still objects of curiosity to strangers.

During the period from the 1st of January 1726 to the 31st of December 1750 one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three ships, exclusive of the little vessels employed by the Cape government, put into Table Bay, either outward or homeward bound. Of these, one thousand five hundred and eight belonged to the Dutch East India Company, two hundred and eighty-four were English, forty-seven were Danish, forty-two were French, one was Portuguese, and one was Flemish. Simon's Bay began to be used in 1742, and before the close of 1750 seventy-seven ships, all belonging to the Company, put into that harbour. The average number touching at South African ports was thus seventy-five yearly.

Among the English ships that called was the *Centurion*, Commodore George Anson, bound homeward after her famous cruise in the Pacific. She was here in March and April 1744. Admiral Boscawen also, in April 1748, put into Table Bay with twenty-six men-of-war and transports, when on his way to India with a force intended to restore English power after the occupation of Madras by the French. Great Britain and the Netherlands were then in alliance, and all possible assistance was therefore given to the English fleet. The troops were landed, and formed a camp just above the Company's garden, where they were drilled for some weeks, as many of them were recruits.

In the following year some ships of this fleet put into Table Bay when returning home. A large number of Englishmen being on shore, the commodore requested one Sunday that his chaplain might be permitted to preach in the church. Leave was granted without demur, and on the 20th of April 1749 divine service according to the rites of the church of England was held in the Dutch church in Table Valley.

On the 9th of February 1751 another English service was held in the same building. Mr. William Wake, recently governor of Bombay, died here while on his passage home, when his widow and the captain of the ship in which he was returning requested the government that his body might be buried in the church with the state due to his rank. The request was complied with. The Dutch officers took part in the funeral procession, the flag on the castle was lowered, the bell was tolled, and minute guns were fired from the batteries. The surgeon of the *Boscawen* read the English burial service, and the body was deposited in a vault below the floor of the church. There was another instance of the kind on the 5th of February 1752, when an English officer of rank—Commander Lisle—was buried under the pavement of the church, the surgeon of the *Vigilant* reading the funeral service. Still another instance occurred on the 7th of September 1773, when Captain Ferguson, who was killed in a quarrel with another English officer when ashore in Capetown, at the request of his brother was buried in state within the same building, the service being read by the purser of the *Vansittart.*

Several wrecks took place on the South African coast during the period that Mr. Swellengrebel was governor.

In the night between the 5th and 6th of May 1740 the Company's outward bound ship *Visch,* when attempting to come to anchor in Table Bay in a stiff gale, ran ashore above the castle, and became a complete wreck. Her sick men, who were between decks, were drowned; the others, with one exception, reached the shore safely by means of a hawser.

On the 25th of October 1747 the Company's outward bound ship *Reygersdal* ran ashore on the coast between Dassen and Robben Islands, and went to pieces at once, only twenty men getting to land. She was four months and a half from Holland, and had lost one hundred and twenty-five men from scurvy. Eighty-three of the remaining crew were too ill with the same disease to keep their feet, and the few who were able to work could not manage the ship. They were trying to get into Saldanha Bay when the final disaster took place.

At dawn of the 19th of January 1750 the French ship *Centaur,* homeward bound from Mauritius, ran ashore near Cape Agulhas in perfectly fine weather. Her crew of three hundred souls and about one hundred passengers, including nine ladies and several children, got safely to land; but suffered great hardships before they reached the Cape, though as soon as intelligence of the disaster was received, waggons and provisions were sent to meet them.

On the 8th of August 1750 a Danish ship named the *Elephant,* homeward bound from Tranquebar, was purposely run ashore close to the mouth of the Gourits river, where some days later she went to pieces. She had made a long and disastrous passage, during which her provisions ran short, and when land was seen there was not a drop of fresh water on board. The crew therefore ran her ashore as the only means of saving their lives. They, to the number of sixty-five men, got safely to land, and after a time reached the Cape.

The rainfall in the corn-growing districts during the second quarter of the eighteenth century fluctuated greatly, and consequently the harvests varied, as did also the exportation of wheat. The directors, having gained experience of the uncertainty of the seasons in South Africa, issued instructions that a year's supply of wheat should always be put by as a reserve before any was sent to India. In 1726 none could be spared, owing to drought. In 1727 there was not sufficient for home consumption, owing to rust, which had attacked rye before, but not wheat. From 1728 to 1737 there was a constant export, sometimes of as much as seven thousand muids, though the crops were not uniformly good.

The year 1738 was one of drought, and consequently the harvest was so poor that in 1739 only three hundred and forty muids of wheat and eighty-five muids of rye could be sent abroad. The next crops were almost destroyed by rust, so that in 1740 not only could no grain be exported, but famine at home was feared. The government was obliged to regulate the issue of bread very carefully. As those who had a supply of grain in store naturally demanded a high price for it, a placaat was issued declaring such demands extortionate, and prohibiting the sale of wheat at a higher rate than 11*s.* 1*d.* a muid. Following the famine, the wheat crop of 1740 was the best ever known in the country, and after the magazines had been filled, seventeen thousand muids were exported, a larger quantity than in any previous year.

In 1746 abundance of rain fell, and the wheat crop harvested was an exceedingly good one, but before the beans and peas were off the ground enormous swarms of locusts made their appearance, a plague from which the colony had been free since 1695. On the 28th of December they found their way in such vast numbers into

Table Valley that the air seemed filled with them, and in a few days there was nothing edible left, not even leaves on the trees. The council appointed the 22nd of February 1747 to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer that God would be pleased to remove the plague. In the country districts the gardens were completely destroyed, and as there was nothing left for the cattle to eat, so many oxen and sheep died that meat, which, owing to there having been no disease among cattle for many years, had been previously sold at less than a penny halfpenny a kilogramme, at once doubled in price. By the end of April 1747, however, the locusts had almost disappeared.

The remaining years were free from excessive drought and insect plagues. The average exports to India during the period were seven thousand five hundred and thirty-nine muids of wheat, one hundred and fifteen muids of rye, two hundred and eighty-nine muids of peas, and two hundred and seventy-one muids of beans. Of ordinary wine, every year on an average three hundred and eighty-four leggers were sent to Batavia, exclusive of that supplied to the ships. All the Constantia wine that could be obtained was exported, and ten times the quantity would have found a ready sale. Ivory, skins of wild animals, ostrich plumes, and dried fruit were also among the exports of the colony.

The Europeans and the Hottentots were living together on friendly terms, but occasionally the peace was disturbed by Bushman marauders. In 1747, and again in 1750, rumours reached the Cape that certain farmers on the distant border of Swellendam had not scrupled to shoot down women and children as well as men, when they were endeavouring to recover cattle and punish the murderers of their servants. The government caused strict inquiry to be made, with the object of bringing the offenders to justice; but it was impossible to obtain evidence sufficient to secure conviction.

The country along the coast was now occupied by Europeans a few miles farther eastward than Mossel Bay. Some graziers had taken possession of land on the banks of the Gamtoos, but in January 1745 the landdrost of Stellenbosch, acting under orders from the governor, required them to return to the westward of the Great Brak river. The circumstances under which the graziers lived were, however, so favourable to expansion of the colony, that they could not long be kept within the assigned limits.

That the Cape is subject to occasional shocks of earthquake was experienced in the early morning of the 5th of September 1739, and again at daybreak on the 27th of August 1749. In the first instance there was a single shock, in the second there were two in quick succession. On both occasions there was a rolling noise, as of passing thunder. Beyond causing alarm, no damage was done.

The East India Company had recently undergone a change in its constitution. During the late war the office of stadtholder had been again created in the Netherlands, after its abrogation for a number of years; and Willem Carel Hendrik Friso, prince of Orange, had been raised to the dignity, which was declared to be hereditary, with the additional title of captain and admiral-general of the republic. On the 25th of March 1747 he was created chief director and governor-general of the East India Company, and thenceforth all appointments to office were made by him upon recommendations from the assembly of seventeen.

At the Cape the officers of government were enthusiastic partisans of the Orange, as against the pure republican faction, and intelligence of the resumption of the stadtholderate was received with great rejoicing. The 29th of November 1747 was kept on this account as a public holiday. There were processions through the streets, ringing of bells, and firing of salutes, every person being decorated with orange cockades, while above the towers of the church and the castle orange banners were streaming. In the evening the houses were illuminated. For two nights in succession there were balls at the governor's residence; but in those days guests retired before midnight.

Governor Swellengrebel gave contentment to the colonists by his administration, though his talents were not of a brilliant order. The directors were also satisfied with him, and, as a mark of their approbation, in March 1744 he received the rank and title of councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India. After holding the office of governor ten years, and having been in continuous service since 1713, in April 1749 he wrote to the directors for permission to retire. He assigned as his reason that he wished to spend the remainder of his life in the Netherlands. This was then the prevailing custom with most of the Company's servants who attained high rank and who had accumulated wealth, and with him such a desire could only be compliance with fashion. Except two of his sons who were studying at Utrecht, all his near relatives were living at the Cape. He was a widower, his wife having died in December 1746, and as an old man he was going to a country which was not his fatherland, and in which he would be a stranger.

The same despatch that announced Governor Swellengrebel's wish to retire contained a request from the remaining members of the council that if the directors consented to relieve him, the secunde Ryk Tulbagh might be appointed in his stead. The directors and the stadtholder consented to what was asked, and on the 1st of April 1750 a despatch was received announcing the appointment of Mr. Tulbagh as governor and of Mr. Sergius Swellengrebel, a cousin of the retiring official, as secunde. The applicant was permitted to transfer the administration whenever he chose, and to proceed to Europe as admiral of a homeward bound fleet. It was nearly a year before the final arrangements were made, for it was only on the 27th of February 1751 that the administration was handed over to Mr. Tulbagh. On the following day the late governor embarked, and on the 2nd of March he sailed for Europe with a fleet of five ships. He took up his residence at Utrecht, to be near his sons, and died in that city in 1763.

During the second quarter of the eighteenth century the following persons, whose descendants are still in South Africa, settled in the colony:

Nicolaas Frans Alberts, before 1745,
Rudolph Sigfried Alleman, before 1730,
Hendrik van Aswegen, before 1736,
Diederik Aucamp, before 1727,
Jeremias Auret, before 1748,
Jan Andries Bam, 1725,
Jan Christiaan Hendrik Bauermeester, 1749,
Johan Diederik Frederik Beneke, before 1743,
Michiel Cornelis Berning, before 1745,
Jan Lourens Bestbier, before 1737,
Christoffel Beukman, 1740,
Nicolaas van Blerk, 1735,
Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman, 1741,
Philip Boomgaart, before 1750,
Willem Boonzaaier, 1743,
Willem Hendrik Boshof, 1741,
Wietse Botes, 1744,
Jacob Breed, 1745,
Johan Jacob Breitenbach, 1738,
Andries Brink, before 1738,
Roelof van den Burg, before 1732,
Matthys Calitz, before 1742,
Reynier Carelse, before 1744,
Jan Cats, 1734,
Jan Martin Coertze, before 1736,
Adolf Johan Hendrik van Coller, before 1750,
Dirk Willem Crafford, before 1730,
Johan Jacob Crause, 1733,
Pieter Daniel Dantu, before 1743,
Johan Christiaan Davel, before 1748,
Adriaan Denys, 1741,
Jacob Diederiks, before 1741,
Johan Marthinus Dippenaar, before 1748,
Jan Augustus Dreyer, before 1729,
Martin Godlieb Eckard, before 1743,
Jan Valentyn Eckard, before 1748,
Jan Hendrik Ehlers, 1735,
Jurgen Hendrik Engela, before 1746,
Gerrit Engelbrecht, 1733,
Jan Christoffel Fleck, 1735,
Jacobus de Goede, before 1741,
Cornelis Goosen, before 1729,
Jan Greyling, before 1727,
Jan Christiaan Grundlingh, 1745,
Jan Jurgen Hamman, 1732,
Jan Adam Hartman, 1748,

Eduard Christiaan Hauman, before 1748,
Johan George Hauptfleisch, before 1736,
Pieter van den Heever, before 1726,
Hieronymus Hendriks, before 1750,
Albrecht Johan Hendrik Herholdt, 1739,
Godfried Heydenreich, 1733,
Joachim Daniel Hiebner, 1729,
Jan Bernhard Hoffman, 1744,
Johan Horn, 1736,
Georg Frederik Huysamer, before 1743,
Jan Jacobs, before 1746,
Roelof Jonas, before 1726,
Dirk de Jongh, before 1738,
Adolph Jonker, before 1740,
Frans Jurgens, 1740,
Joachim Kannemeyer, before 1740,
Hermanus Keeve, before 1742,
Jan Keuler, before 1743,
Andries Keytel, 1749,
Johan Frederik Kirsten, before 1750,
Theodorus Kleynhaus, 1747,
Andries Kluysman, before 1744,
Jan Knoop, before 1737,
Johan Hendrik Christoffel Kock, 1745,
Johan Jacobus Kock, before 1747,
Johan Casper Koen, 1741,
Ysbrand van Koppen, 1736,
Hendrik Korff, 1748,
Abraham Kraaiwinkel, before 1745,
Johan Michiel Kromhout, 1725,
Johan Adolph Kuuhl, before 1744,
Jan Labuschagne, before 1731,
Johan Christiaan Lamprecht, before 1735,
Willem Landman, 1735,
Jan Harmen Lategaan, 1735,
Daniel van der Lith, before 1727,
Jan Loots, before 1726,
Matthias Lotter, 1734,
Johan Martin Lourens, before 1744,
Helmoet Luttig, 1736,
Frederik Luyt, before 1741,
Joachim Hendrik Maartens, 1747,
Abraham Matthee, 1743,
Honoratus Maynier, before 1744,
Arnoldus Mauritius Meiring, 1743,
Martin Melk, 1746,
Joachim Frederik Mentz, 1749,
Frederik Sigismund Modeman, 1749,
Pieter Moolman, 1743,
Michiel Mulder, before 1746,
Christiaan Ludolph Neethling 1741,
Benjamin Neethling, 1746,
Jan Jansen Nieuwenhuyzen, 1742,
Evert Nieuwstad, before 1745,
Frans Joseph Olwagen, before 1743,
Godlieb Christiaan Opperman, before 1729,
Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn, 1741,
Christiaan Pas, before 1734,
Michiel Pentz, 1731,
Barend Pietersen, before 1737,
Hermanus Pietersen, before 1739,
Carel Frederik Pitzer, 1743,
Henning Joachim Prehn, before 1730,
Johan Frederik Priselius, before 1743,
Christiaan Rabie, before 1727,
Jan van Reenen, before 1737,
Adam Reyneke, 1740,
Balthazar Roelofs, before 1731,

Johan Christiaan Roode, 1748,
Johan Joachim Rykheer, 1736,
Abraham Schietekat, 1744,
Hendrik Schoeman, before 1736,
Marthinus Schoester, before 1735,
Joachim Scholtz, before 1727,
Bartholomeus Schonke, before 1730,
Hendrik Adolph Schreuder, 1746,
Christiaan Ernst Schutte, before 1742,
Jan Serrurier, before 1747,
Jan van Sittert, 1748,
Johan Georg Smal, 1735,
Jan Hendrik Snyder, 1741,
Jan Martin Spangenberg, before 1740,
Jan Spies, 1745,
Hendrik Storm, 1734,
Jan van Straten, before 1738,
Andries Streeso, before 1747,
Franciscus le Sueur, 1729,
Jacob Taljard, 1749,
Matthys Taute, 1734,
Jan Tesselaar, 1741,
Hendrik Tessenaar, before 1748,
Carel Gustaav Triegard, 1739,
Paul Tysen, before 1744,
Jan Verbeek, before 1729,
Dignus de Vlamingh, before 1731,
Johan Christiaan Vogel, 1739,
Cornelis van Vollenhoven, 1734,
Evert Volschenk, before 1732,
Hendrik Vortman, before 1747,
Jan Hendrik Vos, before 1748,
Jan Christoffel Wagenaar, 1740,
Michiel van der Walt, 1727,
Pieter Wannenburg, 1727,
. . . Weesberg, before 1742,
Gideon de Wege, before 1733,
Carel David Wentzel, before 1749,
Ernst Wepener, before 1735,
Johan Lodewyk Wernich, before 1729,
Matthys Wicht, 1749,
Jan Willem Wilken, before 1748,
Godlieb Willer, before 1741,
Jan de Winnaar, before 1749,
Sebastiaan Wolfaart, before 1735,
Joseph Wolmarans, 1746,
Pieter Andries Christiaan Wydeman, before 1750,
Pieter van Wyngaarden, before 1727,
Godfried Zeele, 1735,
Matthys Zondag, 1730.

Map VIII.

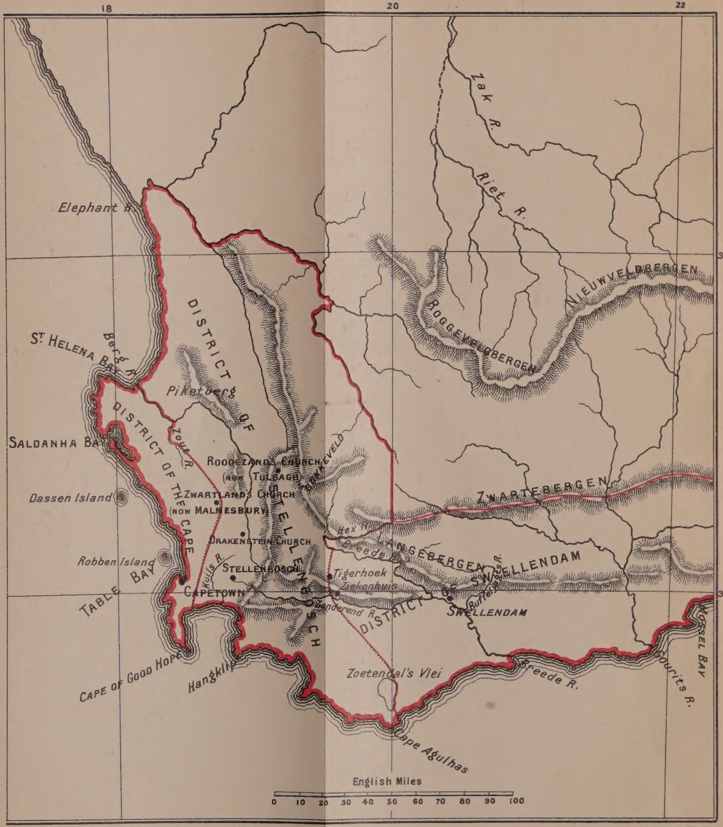
This map shows the extent of the settlement in the year 1750. The northern and eastern boundaries were not yet defined, but along the coast farms were occupied in one direction as far as the mouth of the Elephant river and in the other as far as the Little Brak river, a few miles beyond Mossel Bay. East of the Hex river, colonists sometimes sought pasture for their cattle between the Langebergen and the Zwartebergen, but were not yet in permanent possession.

The places where there were courts of law were :—

Capetown, founded in April 1652,
Stellenbosch, founded in December 1679,
Swellendam, district formed and court of landdrost and heemraden established in August 1745, village founded in October 1746.

The churches were at :—

Capetown, established in August 1665,
Stellenbosch, established in January 1687,
Drakenstein, established in December 1691,
Roodezand (now Tulbagh), established in October 1743,
Zwartland (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745.


18
20
22
32
34
Elephant R.
Zak R.
Riet R.
St Helena Bay
Berg R.
District of Piketberg
Piketberg
Roggeveldbergen
Nieuwveldbergen
District of the Cape
Zout R.
Saldanha Bay
Roodezands Church (now Tulbagh)
Zwartlands Church (now Malmesbury)
Bokkeveld
Dassen Island
Zwartebergen
Hex R.
Drakenstein Church
Langebergen
Breede R.
Robben Island
Table Bay
Kuils R.
Stellenbosch
District of Stellenbosch
Tigerhoek
Ziekenhuis
Capetown
Zonderend R.
District of Swellendam
Swellendam
Buffeljagts R.
Mossel Bay
Gourits R.
Cape of Good Hope
Hangklip
Zoetendal's Vlei
Breede R.
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CHAPTER XLV.

RYK TULBAGH, GOVERNOR, ASSUMED OFFICE 27TH FEBRUARY 1751, DIED 11TH AUGUST 1771.

THE memory of Governor Ryk Tulbagh is still preserved by tradition in South Africa as that of a wise, just, and benevolent ruler. The eldest son of Dirk Tulbagh and Catharina Cattepoel, he was born in the city of Utrecht on the 21st of May 1699. He was of a plain, but honest and respectable family, many of the members of which had done good service for their country in time of war. Several of his near relatives, and among them in later years his father, laid down their lives on the battle field, fighting in the cause of the Netherlands. His parents removed from Utrecht to Bergen-op-Zoom while he was still an infant, and at this place his early life was spent. Here he remained at school until he was sixteen years of age, when his friends considered him sufficiently well educated to make his way in the world. Other capital than his own good qualities and the knowledge gained at school he had none.

In those days, although its purest period was past, the East India Company's service offered special inducements to lads like young Tulbagh. Whatever were the faults in colonising and ruling immense territories by means of such an association, there were merits also which ordinary governments do not possess. One of these merits was that the Company regarded ability in its officers as so much capital to be turned to account. Its agents abroad were far more competent, taken man for man, than the civil servants of the mother country.

Men of genius and intellect, of energy and industry, were sure of rapid promotion, while the dullard and the idler were equally certain of remaining in the lowest ranks.

Tulbagh entered the Company's service under an agreement for five years to act in whatever capacity he should be found most competent. The chamber of Rotterdam resolved to send him to South Africa, and in the year 1716 he bade his friends at Bergen-op-Zoom farewell and embarked in the ship *Terhorst.* He was not quite seventeen years of age when he landed in this country.

The lad had not been long here when he attracted the attention of his superiors by his excellent conduct. There was an earnestness in his demeanour that recommended him, and it was observed that whatever was given him to do, no matter how trivial it might be, was thoroughly well done. His obliging disposition, his utter forgetfulness of self when he could serve others, made him a general favourite.

Colonel De Chavonnes, who was then governor, observed that young Tulbagh spent his leisure hours principally in reading useful books. He found, on inquiry, that the youth was a fair accountant, and that his style of composition was much better than that of many old clerks. The neatness of his papers and the clearness of his handwriting pointed in the same direction. The governor, therefore, in 1718, placed him as an assistant clerk in the office of the secretary of the council of policy.

This appointment gave him a slight increase of pay, which he much needed,—for the junior officials had a difficulty in merely existing,—and it afforded him greater opportunities for study. His memory to the day of his death was exceedingly retentive, and it was at this period of his life that he laid by much of that great store of knowledge which those who came in contact with him half a century later considered marvellous in one whose schooldays had been so short. In his new employment his first care was to make himself master of his work, and thereafter to do it in a masterly manner.

It was a peculiarity in the religious teaching of those days, and especially in pulpit utterances, that models for imitation were almost invariably selected from the old testament, not from the new. Of the numerous sermons and texts of sermons that have been handed down to us, nearly all are taken from that source. The power and majesty and wrath of God are continually dwelt upon, and the terrible judgments that overtake the wicked may almost be termed a favourite theme. Under this tuition men grew up to fear God, as undoubtedly they ought to do, but generosity and sympathy with distress were in most instances undeveloped.

With Ryk Tulbagh this was not the case. In all his dealings with others he did as he would have wished to be done by. His word was ever known to be strictly the truth. He often left himself without comforts, such as most men in his position would have regarded as necessaries of life, and no one would know the reason why until some poor widow or orphan or other distressed person would give the explanation. The Company's books in our archives show that a large proportion of his salary was transmitted every year to his widowed mother, Catharina Cattepoel,* until her death in 1757. He disliked to have his charity spoken of, and it was remarked of him that his judgment was never at fault except in the estimation of his own good deeds. Of these he was sure to make light.

Tulbagh remained as junior until 1722, when he was raised to the post of chief clerk to the secretary of the council of policy. In the following year, upon the promotion of Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel to be master of the warehouses, Tulbagh was chosen to succeed him as clerk in that department. In 1725 the secretary, Adriaan van Kervel, became fiscal, when Tulbagh was appointed to the vacant office. He remained in it without a vote until the 16th of September 1728, when he became a member of the council of policy, and at the same time had a seat given to him in the high court of justice. In 1726 he had been named by the local authorities a junior merchant on approbation, and this dignity was now confirmed by the directors. In 1732 he was further elevated in rank by having the title of merchant conferred upon him.

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*For English readers it may be necessary to observe that neither Dutch nor French women in those days exchanged their fathers' for their husbands' names on marriage. The English custom in this respect has only recently become common in South Africa.

Thus gradually he was making his way upward in society, in every post giving entire satisfaction, and always esteemed and beloved by his colleagues. He had taken to wife a young lady who was by birth a colonist. Several of her relatives were then in the service of the East India Company, and among them her brother, Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel, who was on several occasions Tulbagh's immediate superior in office.

He remained secretary of the council of policy until the 14th of April 1739, when by order of the assembly of seventeen he became secunde. At the same time he was raised to the dignity of senior merchant. He had long been a member of the high court of justice, and now he became its president, an office at this period always held by the secunde.

He was not quite fifty-two years of age when, on the 27th of February 1751, he became governor of the colony. The ceremony of public presentation to the burghers and of receiving a promise of fidelity from the various official boards did not take place until the 15th of April.

As governor, the high qualities which he possessed were prominently shown. He was accessible without the least difficulty to all who wished to see him. The humblest individual could pour his grievances, if he had any, into the ears of the father of the country, and be sure of a patient hearing. If his complaints were well grounded, he obtained speedy redress, and in any case he was sure of good counsel. It was this quality that more than any other endeared him to the people. They knew that he studied their interests, that although he was their governor he was still their adviser and friend. No man, however good and wise he might be, could ever gain the affections of a people like the South African colonists if he held himself aloof from them.

His probity was beyond suspicion, and that in an age when probity was hardly looked for in men holding positions such as his. The salaries of officers in the Company's service were small, and it was taken almost as a matter of course that all who could do so would supplement their incomes in any way not punishable by law. Some of the practices resorted to were perhaps harmless, but others had a tendency to lead on to real pilfering. They had further the effect of causing men to look upon commercial immorality as after all not a very serious crime. He who became wealthy through dishonest, even fraudulent, transactions was too often admired as a sharp, clever, business man, and not regarded as a swindler should be. Governor Tulbagh set his face firmly against everything of this nature. He neither traded on his own account, nor would he allow any other officer of the government to do so. The fees which they were permitted to receive in certain transactions were fixed, and they were restricted from taking more. As for himself, he regulated his expenses so that he lived well within his income and allowances, and used what he had to spare in relieving the wants of others.

Under his administration every man was certain of getting his dues. The petty, shameless, pilfering system, often previously in vogue, under which farmers were compelled to bribe the Company's officers before they would receive produce, and then bribe them again before proper accounts could be had, was not tolerated. The governor took care that no man was put to unnecessary delay, and that no bribes were received or false accounts rendered, so that the farmers were not exposed to injustice or vexatious treatment.

During the war in Europe which was brought to a close by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the United Netherlands had been put to enormous expense. The public finances were in such a condition that it became necessary to resort to special taxation for the purpose of raising a large sum of money. On the 29th of December 1750 the states-general imposed a tax called the fiftieth penny upon the inhabitants of the United Provinces, that is, every one was obliged to pay a rate nearly equal to five pence in the pound upon the value of his property. The governor-general, Jacob Mossel, and the council of India, on the 20th of December 1751 decreed that the tax should be paid by all Europeans in the Company's possessions.

The first names upon the list of those who paid in South Africa are those of Ryk Tulbagh and his wife Elizabeth Swellengrebel. Then come those of the members of the council of policy as follows: the independent fiscal Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn, his wife Sophia Boesses, and eight children; Lieutenant-Colonel Izaak Meinertzhagen; Captain Rudolph Sigfried Allemann, his wife Alberta Meyboom, and eight children; the issuer of stores Nicolaas Heyning, his wife Gertruyd Vermey, and six children; the master of the warehouses Christoffel Brand, and his wife Sarah van Brakel, also for the children of Burgert Brand and his wife Anna van der Byl; the chief salesman Cornelis Eelders, his wife Johanna Catharina van der Poel, and three children; the secretary Joseph de Grandpreez, and his wife Adriana Slotsboo.

On the 19th of April 1751 the abbé Nicolas Louis de la Caille, member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, arrived in South Africa. He had already attained celebrity in France by his astronomical researches and his writings, when he resolved to visit the Cape of Good Hope with the object of making a sidereal chart of the southern skies and of measuring an arc of the meridian. He brought a letter of recommendation from the prince of Orange to the authorities at the Cape. From Governor Tulbagh, who took a warm interest in his work, he received all the assistance that it was possible to give. He remained in the colony until the 8th of March 1753. During his stay he performed an almost incredible amount of astronomical work, and all that he did was surprisingly well done. When measuring his base line on a plain east of Saldanha Bay he had the aid of an engineer officer named Muller, belonging to the Cape garrison, but for the remainder of his work in the field his only assistants were untrained and uneducated men. The arc which he measured by triangulation extended from a point within a few metres of the corner of Strand and Adderley streets in Capetown to Klipfontein in Piketberg, 1° 13′ 17·5″ according to his computation. He found the degree of latitude to be one hundred and eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven metres and one fifth.

Sir Thomas Maclear, astronomer royal at the Cape of Good Hope, was employed from 1840 to 1848, with an able staff of assistants, in verifying and extending De la Caille's arc of the meridian. With the greatly improved instruments of his time, he ascertained that the French astronomer's latitude of his observatory was incorrect by only 2·01″, and that the true length of a degree of latitude northward from it is one hundred and eleven thousand and seventy-nine metres or three hundred and sixty-four thousand four hundred and thirty-nine English feet. Though De la Caille's small error gives an idea that the globe is not depressed at the poles, as it is now known to be, the difference between the two calculations amounts to less than thirty-two kilometres for the whole circumference of the earth. The position of the stars in De la Caille's chart was found to be equally accurate.

Saturday the 8th of April 1752 was observed by the Europeans in South Africa as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the undisturbed possession of the colony by the Company for a hundred years. Special services were held in the churches at Capetown, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Roodezand, and Zwartland.

The laws of the colony at this time were much harsher than they are in our days. They were, however, seldom enforced in all their severity, the object of legislation being to lay down the heaviest punishment which could be inflicted for offences, rather than the ordinary penalties. Far greater power was thus placed in the hands of administrators and judges than is the case at present.

It was held to be one of the duties of government to regulate many matters which are now left to settle themselves under the action of demand upon supply. Thus in 1744 a proclamation of Governor Swellengrebel and the council was issued, in which the price to be charged by waggonmakers and blacksmiths for every part of their work was minutely fixed.

In 1753 a regulation was made concerning the sale of ivory. It fixed the price of prime tusks at two shillings and eleven pence per kilogramme, and of inferior tusks in proportion. Any one detected disposing of ivory, except to the Company, was made liable to a heavy fine and to be banished from South Africa. The purchaser was to be punished in the same manner. Any petty officer or soldier of the patrol who should through want of proper diligence allow a tusk to pass the barrier by day or by night, except to the Company's stores, was made liable to be severely flogged, to be branded, and to serve ten years in chains.

In the slave code the wide difference between the spirit of those times and these in which we live is very observable. There were then more slaves than Europeans in South Africa, notwithstanding the manumission of such as were considered deserving of freedom and of those who could lay claim to it under the law. Some were sent here from Batavia, sentenced to periods of servitude varying in length. Officers of ships and private individuals regarded them as the most profitable article in which they could carry on a small trade, and brought so many from India that the government became apprehensive of the too great preponderance of this class of the population, for when excited they were prone to commit appalling crimes. The council of India was therefore earnestly requested to prohibit the exportation of Asiatic slaves to this colony, but they continued to arrive in considerable numbers until 1767, when the request of the Cape government was complied with, and further importations ceased. A few were brought from the east coast of Africa. With Madagascar there was a regular trade in slaves, small vessels being sent frequently from the Cape to procure them. They cost there less than three pounds sterling each, though the rivalry of the English, French, and Portuguese was complained of as increasing the price and making it difficult to obtain cargoes.

It was nothing unusual when one fourth to one third of the number taken on board died during the passage. And frequently from one third to half of those landed died within three months, from despondency and change of climate and food. After the arrival of a slave-ship, it is not uncommon to find in the journal whole pages of names of those who died during the preceding month, with an occasional comment as to the loss to the Company, but never a word of compassion for the wretched negroes. And this during the government of such a thoroughly good man, according to the views of his time, as Ryk Tulbagh. More pity would be expressed to-day for a shipment of horses.

Occasionally captives on board ship made attempts to regain their liberty, but in general such precautions were taken that they were utterly helpless.

There is in the Cape archives of the early years of the eighteenth century a statement that exhibits in a very clear light the views of those times regarding negro slaves. It was made by the master of an English slave-ship bound to the West Indies, who put into Table Bay for provisions, and who asked to be treated with exceptional favour, on the ground of his voyage having been disastrous. On the passage from Madagascar he had observed symptoms of discontent among the negroes, he said, and to prevent them from rising and murdering his crew, he had considered it necessary to throw the sturdiest of them overboard. The event is recorded with no more feeling for the blacks than if they had been bales of calico.

Somewhat more justifiable was the conduct of the crew of the English ship *Elizabeth*, which put into Table Bay on the 3rd of June 1719 on her passage from Madagascar to Barbados and Jamaica, with six hundred slaves on board. After the ship came to anchor one of her boats was sent to the shore, when the negroes, probably apprehending some dreadful fate, rose in revolt, and killed the boatswain and several sailors. The crew, who mustered only ninety-five men all told, in suppressing the insurrection shot a number of them and threw some others overboard.

In 1765 the Cape packet *Meermin* was sent to Madagascar to procure slaves for the Company. Her supercargo called at several ports in the island, and succeeded in purchasing one hundred and forty of both sexes. On the passage back, the skipper—Gerrit Mulder—caused the irons to be taken off the slaves, and a few days afterwards—18th of February 1766—the supercargo very imprudently gave some of them a number of assagais to polish. They seized the opportunity, rose suddenly, and killed the supercargo and the whole of the watch on deck, twenty-four men all told. There were twenty-nine men below. None of these were allowed to come on deck for the next forty-eight hours, but at the end of that time, through the medium of a woman, an agreement was made that no harm should be done to the white men, they on their part promising to convey the negroes back to Madagascar.

The way the crew of the *Meermin* kept their promise was by steering for Cape Agulhas. After four days' sail, land was seen, and the negroes were assured that it was their own country. At a distance of several kilometres from the coast they required the sailors to drop the anchor and get out the longboat and pinnace, in which over fifty of them, male and female, went ashore, after promising to make signal fires if all was right, and send the boats back for their companions as soon as they could. Near the place where they landed was a farm belonging to Matthys Rostock. Upon seeing the house, the negroes first became aware that they had been deceived. Intelligence of their landing soon spread, and the neighbouring farmers assembled. As the blacks would not surrender they were attacked, when fourteen were shot and the others were taken prisoners.

The negroes on board the *Meermin* became very impatient when the boats did not return for them. There was a current setting towards the land, so the crew wrote an account of their condition, and put the papers in bottles which they dropped overboard. They begged that three fires might be kindled on the shore. Two of the bottles were picked up, and the fires were kindled, as requested. The negroes then cut the cable, and when the *Meermin* drifted close in, a canoe was lowered and six of them landed. They had hardly touched the beach when they were surrounded. One was shot, the other five were made prisoners. Those still on board, on seeing this, attacked the crew; but the sailors were able to defend themselves until the vessel ran ashore, when the blacks surrendered. One hundred and twelve of the slaves finally reached the Cape. The *Meermin* could not be got off again, and went to pieces where she struck.

The nature of the industries carried on in the colony prevented slavery from becoming here what it was on an American cotton or sugar plantation, and few instances of extreme cruelty are on record; but under the law bondsmen were in a very abject position.

In the preamble of a slave code drawn up by Governor Tulbagh and the council it is stated that notwithstanding the stringent proclamations that had from time to time been issued, the misconduct of the slaves was such that for the preservation of peace and good order it was necessary to collect all the laws into one ordinance, and to amplify them to meet existing circumstances. After mature deliberation, the code was drawn up in the castle of Good Hope on the 3rd of September 1754, and two days later was published by being affixed to the notice board, with the great seal of the Company attached to it.

The second paragraph condemns to death without mercy any male or female slave who shall raise his or her hand, though without weapons, against master or mistress. The twenty-third condemns every slave found loitering about the entrance of a church, when the congregation was leaving, to be severely flogged by the ministers of justice. The twenty-fourth subjects to the same punishment any slave, adult or child, found within a churchyard at the time of a funeral.* The twenty-eighth prohibits more than twenty slaves from following the corpse of a companion to its burial. The number was to be regulated according to the rank of the owner of the deceased, by whom a fine of £5 was to be paid if the rule was transgressed.

*Perhaps this clause will not seem unduly harsh to any one who has seen the thoughtless manner in which the descendants of these slaves often conduct themselves on such occasions, creating a din by their noisy remarks, pressing upon the mourners, and in other ways disturbing the solemnity of the graveside. Funerals in olden times were conducted with much display, and such a law was needed to prevent disorder.

For many offences slaves could be flogged at once by the officers of justice, without any trial. When convicted of ordinary crimes, they were punished much more severely than freemen. Some of the death sentences recorded against them horrify the reader by their barbarity. It is sufficient to say that impalement, breaking the limbs on a wheel, and slow strangulation were among the methods of execution.

The Company's slave lodge in Capetown was a sink of vice, although stringent efforts were made to preserve order in it. Children born there were baptized, the overseer, or in his absence the sick-comforter, standing sponsor for them according to a regulation of the year 1721, and they were sent to school and church, but they grew up with very little regard for virtue. The burghers, observing that the Company's slaves were the most depraved in the settlement, in general neglected to have theirs baptized, and gave them no instruction from books. The old ideas on this subject had completely passed away, for in practice it was seen that the negroes in the service of the farmers were much more useful members of the community than those who lived in the town, though this was really due to their being kept in better discipline and exposed to fewer temptations, not to the children acquiring habits of idleness by being sent to school.

In the Indies there had been of late years a growing tendency with Europeans towards luxurious habits, and the authorities feared that the descendants of the sturdy pioneers would sink into effeminacy. It was observed that the children or grandchildren of men who had toiled with their hands to earn their food were not content unless they could ride in carriages and be waited upon by menials. The directors did not reflect that this was inevitable in countries where there were inferior races and where the road to wealth was open to colonists; they regarded it simply as an evil that would lead to ruin, unless checked in time. They attempted, therefore, to prevent it by issuing stringent sumptuary laws, by which all undue display was prohibited. These laws failed in their object, but while they were still on trial the council of India sent a copy of them to the Cape with orders to enforce them here also.

There was no dependency of the Company in which such regulations could have less effect than in this colony, because there was very little accumulated wealth here except in the form of farming stock. The people generally were above fear of want, but there were few who could pretend to live in luxury. Yet Governor Tulbagh favoured the sumptuary laws, not only because he was instructed to put them in force, but because he believed them to be well adapted to form a simple, honest, manly race of colonists, to preserve the hardy virtues which had made the people of the Netherlands a powerful nation.

On the 25th of March 1755 the sumptuary laws of India were referred to a committee to make such alterations as were necessary to adapt them to the condition of this country, and they were thereafter promulgated. They comprised such regulations as the following: no one except the governor may use a gilded coach or one with a coat of arms emblazoned on it; no one except a member of the council of policy may dress his coachman in livery; no one may use large sunshades except senior merchants and ladies whose husbands or fathers have seats at any of the public boards.

There were other regulations hardly less in accordance with modern ideas.

Every foreign vessel that put into Table Bay was required to fire a salute of nine guns, upon which the castle replied with seven. A French ship came to anchor in March 1754, and her captain declined to salute unless the fortress would return an equal number of shots. The governor was at his country seat at Newlands, but the secunde Swellengrebel informed the French captain, who had come on shore, that no provisions would be supplied until he conformed to the usual custom. He could get water and firewood, but nothing more. The Frenchman returned to his vessel, but disdained to fire a shot. Early in April another French ship came in, and met with the same reception. Governor Tulbagh would not allow even a boat to go off to either of them. At length one of the French captains offered to fire the required number of guns for both vessels. The governor replied that each must fire. They held out a little longer, but at length submitted, fired their guns, and were afterwards treated in the most friendly manner and supplied with whatever provisions they needed.

In the same year there was a widow living in the town who refused to allow her two children to attend school. The elders of the church reminded her of her duty, and the clergyman reprimanded her, but to no purpose. The consistory next reported the circumstance to the council of policy, and by that body she was admonished not to bring up her children as heathens. Still she remained obdurate, maintaining her right to have the children educated or not, as she pleased. The matter came again before the council, but now the governor settled it. The widow was ordered at once to consign her children to the church authorities that they might be instructed in the duties of Christians. If she did not comply, it was added, she should be flogged. Upon this she wisely submitted.

In 1754 the council of India, in order to derive greater benefit than previously from this colony, proposed to reduce by one-third the prices paid by the Company for produce, to charge a duty of two pence farthing a kilogramme upon meat, two shillings and eight pence a muid upon meal, and thirty-two shillings a legger upon wine supplied to foreign ships, also to permit the importation of clothing materials in foreign ships upon payment of a duty of twenty per cent of the value. The council of policy, guided by Governor Tulbagh, objected to these proposals, for the following reasons. The prices of colonial produce were already so low that a reduction of one-third would ruin the farmers. A duty of two pence farthing a kilogramme upon meat supplied to foreign ships would not benefit the Company in the least. Already foreigners were complaining because they had to pay twice as much as the inhabitants for meat, and it was this privilege of charging double prices to them which enabled the contractors to supply the Company at very cheap rates. The proposed duty on meat, meal, and wine would drive foreigners from the port, and from them the burghers made their largest profits. As for the importation of clothing materials in foreign bottoms, it would hardly be worth while to make one class of merchandise an exception to the general rules. The question was submitted to the directors, by whom these views were endorsed, and matters were left as they always had been, except that wine was made subject to an export duty of £1 a legger.

Instructions were at this time given by the directors to renew experiments in the cultivation of indigo, and also to try if cotton could not be successfully grown in South Africa. These orders were carried out in the Company's gardens at the Cape, Rondebosch, and Newlands, with the result of showing that neither indigo nor cotton could be produced with profit.

For forty-two years the colony had been free of small pox when in 1755 that scourge made its appearance again. It was introduced at the beginning of winter by a homeward bound fleet from Ceylon. At first the disease was supposed to be a kind of fever, but after a few days there were cases that admitted of no doubt. It assumed, however, various forms, and among some of the distant Hottentot tribes differed in appearance so much from what was held to be true small pox that the Europeans termed it gall sickness.

In Table Valley it was of such a malignant type that hardly a single adult who was attacked recovered. In

July the weather was colder than usual, and during that month four hundred and eighty-nine Europeans, thirty-three free blacks, and five hundred and eighty slaves perished. If that death rate had continued, before the close of the year there would have been no one remaining, but as soon as the warm weather set in the virulence of the disease abated. Two great hospitals were established: one for poor Europeans, supported by the board of deacons, the other for blacks. To the latter all slaves who were attacked were sent, the expense being borne by their owners, who were required to pay one shilling and four pence a day for each. Those who recovered were employed as nurses. In Table Valley from the 1st of May to the 31st of October nine hundred and sixty-three Europeans and eleven hundred and nine blacks of all ages died.

The value of property was so depreciated that there was a difficulty in disposing of houses, and articles of luxury, such as plate and jewellery, were quite unsaleable. The orphan chamber at length resolved not even to offer things of this kind at public auctions, but to preserve them until more favourable times, as otherwise their value would be lost to heirs.

By the great number of deaths in Capetown the burial ground about the church was becoming so rapidly filled that it was considered necessary to open another. On the 21st of June the council of policy granted to the consistory a piece of land for the purpose, four hundred and twenty-nine square roods and one hundred and forty square feet in extent, adjoining the military burial ground between the Lion's rump and the shore of the bay. Interments of members of particular families, however, were permitted in the old ground, which was not entirely closed until 1770. The same fees for graves were made payable to the consistory in the new cemetery as in the old, but during the time of great mortality such charges were in most cases lost sight of.

In the country the European inhabitants did not suffer very severely, as they remained so secluded on their farms that for several months hardly a waggon load of produce was taken to the Cape for sale. The dead were not removed from the farms for burial. The government excused the muster of the militia for drill, and even the services in the churches were not attended by people from a distance.

In the census returns of 1754 the number of colonists of both sexes and all ages is given as five thousand five hundred and ten, and the number of slaves owned by them as six thousand two hundred and seventy-nine; in those of 1756 the number of colonists is given as five thousand one hundred and twenty-three, and of their slaves as five thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven. In ordinary years the number of deaths was in proportion to the number of baptisms as one hundred to two hundred and sixty-one,* and there was a constant accession to the colonial population by servants of the Company taking their discharge, so that these figures, though they cannot be depended upon as absolutely accurate, give an idea of the heavy loss of life by the small pox.

With the Hottentots also it created great havoc, for it spread farther than in 1713. It is not possible to say exactly how far it extended, but its ravages were felt in Great Namaqualand at least to the twenty-sixth parallel of latitude, and in the east to the Bashee river.

Before midsummer it entirely died out.

The coloured races who had found their way into different parts of South Africa, though singularly free from disease, were subject to one of the most dreadful maladies with which mankind is afflicted. There are no

*A mean of the entries for eight years of deaths and baptisms, excluding deaths of seamen in the hospital and of the troops. The returns of deaths in the country districts are, however, not to be too firmly relied on, and these figures can therefore only be regarded as approximately correct.

means of ascertaining the ravages made by leprosy among the Hottentots, but it is tolerably certain that though they were acquainted with the disease, the number of individuals affected was very small. It is not once named in the early records, and it is only from tradition that it is known to have existed among these people before their intercourse with strangers. Whether the Bushmen were liable to be attacked by it is uncertain. Among the Bantu tribes it was by no means rare, and the slaves of all nationalities who were brought into the colony were subject to it. It was now proved that Europeans also were liable to its attacks. Some cases having been suspected, in May 1756 a commission of medical men was appointed, who examined the sufferers, and reported that one man, who had been eighteen years ill, was afflicted with leprosy, that his eldest daughter was showing symptoms, and that another man, who had been nine years ill, was suffering from the same disease. The government recommended isolation of the sufferers, but did nothing more.

The quality of the wine sent to India was frequently complained of, but no improvement was made in it. The master of the Company's wine stores at the Cape professed that the greatest care was taken to reject the worst that was brought for sale, and that he could not obtain any better than was forwarded. The result was that the council of India declined to take as large a quantity as previously, and the exportation to Batavia, which for the five years 1751-5 had averaged five hundred and fifty-eight leggers, fell off to two hundred and sixty-two leggers on an average during the next ten years. There was some correspondence with the directors concerning the conversion of the wine into brandy, and it was ascertained that if more stills were introduced there would be no difficulty in procuring annually four hundred leggers at a price not exceeding £14 11*s.* 8*d.* a legger. But the quality of the brandy sent as samples was so objectionable that the project fell through.

It was just at this time—1756—that the directors imposed a duty of £1 sterling a legger upon all wine and brandy sold to strangers in bulk, as has already been related. They could devise no other method of increasing their revenue, which, including the profits on goods sold here, amounted to no more than between £11,000 and £12,000 a year, while the sum paid out of their treasury at the Cape was in round numbers £20,000 more, taking one year with another. The duty was farmed out by auction, and in the first year was sold for no more than £33 6*s.* 8*d.* Four years later it rose to £400.

In 1756 and 1757 only twelve foreign ships called, and though three of these were sent from Mauritius to procure provisions for the French troops there, the supply of wine far exceeded the demand. Insolvencies of wine-farmers became alarmingly frequent. The governor-general Van Imhoff in 1743 had allowed the fiscal a fee of four shillings and two pence upon every legger of wine sold to a foreigner. Governor Tulbagh, as the only measure of relief which he could think of, arranged with the independent fiscal Van Oudtshoorn that he should abandon his claim to this fee, and in its stead receive one shilling and four pence on every forty-five kilogrammes of grain or meal sold to a foreigner.

Matters were at their worst when in December 1758 and January 1759 a fleet of seventeen French men-of-war and transports with troops arrived from Mauritius. They were sent here purposely to refresh and lay in a supply of provisions. At once the price of farm produce doubled or trebled, all the surplus stock was disposed of, and everything was paid for in money.

From this date until the termination of the war in India between the English and the French, the farmers were in a prosperous condition. French men-of-war until 1761, and after that date ships of both nations, came to the Cape to refresh and take in supplies. The officers of French packets from Mauritius and of English packets from

St. Helena bid against each other for cattle and meal and wine. On more than one occasion the government was unable to procure as much provision as was needed for the Company's ships, as the burghers were desirous of selling at high prices to strangers. There was a remedy for this, however. In August 1762 a placaat was issued prohibiting the sale of wine to foreigners under penalty of confiscation of all that was offered and a fine of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* This had the desired effect, the Company obtained as much as was needed, and four weeks from the date of its issue the placaat was withdrawn. In January 1763 it was necessary to resort to the same means to procure a supply of butter.

The government, as well as individuals, profited by the strangers. The revenue was increased, a quantity of surplus wheat in the magazines was disposed of, and some shipments of Bourbon coffee were purchased at the low price of fifty-five shillings per hundred kilogrammes for transmission to Europe. This season of prosperity lasted until March 1763, when intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace between France and England.

On the 8th of December 1760 the secunde Sergius Swellengrebel died. He was married to an English lady, Miss Anna Fothergill, but was childless. On the 12th the council of policy decided that the independent fiscal Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn should fill the vacant office until the pleasure of the supreme authorities could be known. Mr. Van Oudtshoorn was confirmed in the appointment by the directors, and Mr. Jan Willem Cloppenburg was sent out as fiscal. This officer arrived in September 1762.

CHAPTER XLVI.

RYK TULBAGH, GOVERNOR, (*continued.*)

ON the 18th of September 1761 there died in Capetown a gentleman named Joachim Nicolaas van Dessin, a native of Rostock in Germany, who arrived here in 1727 as a soldier in the service of the East India Company, in 1729 became clerk to the secretary of the high court of justice, and from 1737 to 1757 held the situation of secretary of the orphan chamber. His wife—Christina Ehlers—and only child died before him, so that he was without natural heirs. In his will he bequeathed to the colony three thousand eight hundred printed books and many manuscripts, to become the foundation of a public library for the benefit of the community. Some mathematical and astronomical instruments and several oil paintings were also included in the gift. He appointed the consistory of the Cape guardians of this bequest, and directed his executors to pay to that board one thousand rixdollars—then equal to £208 6*s*. 8*d.*—to form a capital fund, the interest of which was to be applied in perpetuity to the preservation and enlargement of the library. To several of his friends and dependents bequests were made in his will, and the residue of his property—which amounted to £5,041 16*s*. 5*d.*—he left to the orphan chamber.

The consistory accepted the trust, and was placed in possession of the books, money, etc., also of an additional sum of £208 6*s*. 8*d*. given by the orphan chamber from its inheritance to furnish a room in which to keep the library. A building was erected near the church, the books were placed in it, and the sexton was required to perform the duty of librarian. The institution, however, was not much used, and in course of time several of the most interesting volumes disappeared, without any record being left of the manner in which they were lost. Those which remain are known as the Dessinian collection, now kept in the gallery of the South African public library. Among them are still many works of permanent value.

The sum of £4,833 9*s.* 9*d.*, which the orphan chamber inherited from Mr. Van Dessin and retained for its own use, was invested on interest, from which the members of the board afterwards drew small salaries.

On the 27th of April 1761 Messrs. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two astronomers who had left England with the intention of observing at Bencoolen the transit of Venus on the 6th of June, arrived at the Cape. They had been delayed on the passage, and therefore resolved to observe the transit here. From Governor Tulbagh they received all the assistance that he could possibly give. The 6th of June was showery, but at the time of the transit there were no clouds over the sun's disc, so that they were able to observe it. Their instruments were two reflecting telescopes of sixty-one centimetres focal length and magnifying one hundred and twenty times, a quadrant of thirty centimetres radius, and an astronomical clock. They remained at the Cape until the 3rd of October.

In 1759 an armament was sent by the government at Batavia to reinforce the garrison of the Dutch factory of Chinsurah on the Ganges. Colonel Clive was then the representative of the English East India Company at Fort William. He apprehended that if the Dutch forces were increased, the nabob Meer Jaffier, who had been raised to power by his assistance, would form an alliance with them to the detriment of English interests in Bengal. England and the Netherlands were at peace, but Clive resisted the passage of the Dutch fleet up the Hoogly, captured the ships, and destroyed the army.

Conditions were imposed upon the authorities at the Dutch factory, under which they were prohibited from building fortifications or raising troops.

When intelligence of this event reached Europe, the friendly feeling that had existed between Great Britain and the United Provinces was disturbed, and for a time it was doubtful whether peace would be maintained. Orders were issued by the directors that nothing which could be refused under existing treaties should be supplied to English ships touching at the Cape. The matter, however, was adjusted without a rupture, and in 1761 instructions were received that English visitors were to be treated in a liberal manner.

In January 1762 his Britannic Majesty's ships of war *Chatham* and *York* put into Table Bay, where they were supplied with whatever they needed. The commodore, Thomas Lynn, taking Governor Tulbagh to be an obliging, good-natured individual, who would do almost anything he was requested to, asked that all the English seamen in Dutch ships in the bay should be sent on board his vessel. But he met with a decided refusal, for in this the governor and council held that the honour of their flag was at stake.

In 1760 a burgher named Jacobus Coetsee with twelve Hottentots proceeded northward from his farm at Piketberg, and hunted elephants beyond the river known to us as the Orange, which it was believed had never been crossed by a white man before. Some time after his return he informed Hendrik Hop, one of the captains of the burgher militia, who occupied the farm Slot van de Paarl, that he had heard of a tribe of black people called Damrocquas living ten days' journey beyond the farthest point which he reached, and that they had long hair and wore clothes made of linen cloth. In June 1761 Captain Hop reported this to the government, and offered to lead an exploring party in that direction. The offer was accepted, and the captain then called for burghers to volunteer for the expedition. Such an undertaking was no longer so formidable as in the days of Simon van der Stel, for white men were now in permanent occupation of cattle runs as far north as the mouth of the Elephant river. Since 1685 the base of supplies had been moved up the coast nearly three hundred and twenty kilometres. With the party the governor sent the botanist Jan Andries Auge, superintendent of the Company's garden in Capetown,* who was to collect information on plants, the surgeon Carel Christoffel Rykvoet, who went in the capacity of mineralogist, and the surveyor Carel Frederik Brink, whose duty it was to determine positions, to make a map, and to keep a journal.

It was arranged that the members of the expedition should assemble at a place called the Bakoven, near the mouth of the Elephant river, and from that point commence the journey. On the 16th of August 1761 all was ready, and the caravan left the Bakoven for the north. Beside the four Europeans named, there were thirteen colonists: Jacobus and Joris Coetsee, Abraham Russouw,

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*Auge arrived at the Cape in 1747 with letters of recommendation from Boerhaave. He was employed by Governor Swellengrebel, and by Governor Tulbagh was made superintendent of the Company's garden in Capetown. Professor McOwan, director of the same botanical garden in 1887, wrote that "some of the finest specimen trees still existing are due to Auge's assiduous labours," and that "he also collected together a large herbarium, which ultimately fell into the hands of Burmann, of Amsterdam." In later years he accompanied Thunberg and Masson on their tours for collecting plants. Failing sight at length obliged him to retire upon a pension, which he lost in 1795 when the English took the colony. He was residing with a friend near the eastern frontier when the Xosa irruption in 1799 reduced him to great distress. Landdrost Faure, of Swellendam, a man of benevolent disposition, then provided for him and gave him a home. The traveller Lichtenstein found him in good health at the age of ninety-three years, and still taking a very keen interest in botany, though he was perfectly blind. For further particulars concerning Auge see *Personalia of Botanical Collectors at the Cape*, by Professor McOwan, F.L.S., F.R.H.S., etc., a pamphlet published at Capetown in 1887.

Hendrik Kruger, Andries Greef, Jan van Niekerk, Tieleman Roos, Pieter Marais, Casper and Jan Badenhorst, Josua Joubert, Coenraad Scheepers, and Ocker Heyns. They had fifteen waggons and sixty-eight half-breed Hottentot servants.

They passed by the copper mountains of Little Namaqualand that had been first visited by Europeans in 1685, and keeping in a direction almost due north, crossed the Great river on the 29th of September, at a ford where the stream was nearly three hundred and thirty-five metres in width. The Little Namaquas were found in an impoverished condition. They had been robbed by Bushmen of the greater part of their cattle, and it seemed as if they must eventually be utterly destroyed. The Great Namaquas had migrated to the north about twenty years before.

The names given by Captain Hop to localities north of the Great river have long since been replaced by others, but there is no difficulty in following the route of the expedition. They passed the hot spring now known as Nisbett's Bath, and kept along the western base of the Karas mountains, between the eighteenth and nineteenth meridians from Greenwich, the same route as that of Sir James Alexander in 1838. They found giraffes soon after crossing the Great river, and killed several.* Governor Tulbagh, who had already enriched the chief museums of the Netherlands with many specimens illustrating the botany and zoology of the colony, sent the skin of one of these giraffes to the museum of the university of Leiden. It was the first taken to Europe from South Africa.

The expedition reached latitude 26° 18′ S., and two of the burghers penetrated the country a little farther. But the heat had now become almost insupportable;

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* No giraffes have ever been seen by Europeans south of the Orange, but as profiles of them are found among Bushman paintings along the Zwart Kei and Tsomo rivers, it is believed that they must once have existed there.

there was such a scarcity of food for the cattle that they were dying off rapidly, and though several beds of rivers were found, there was no water in any of them except at distant points where the Hottentots or Bushmen had made deep pits in the sand. Captain Hop called a council, and there was but one opinion expressed, that it was impossible to go farther.

On the 7th of December the caravan turned to the south. At the Great river some time was spent in refreshing the worn-out cattle, which afforded an opportunity to examine the country around. In the mountains bordering on the river copper was discovered, but Captain Hop and his assistants came to the conclusion that it would not pay to extract it. They observed first that there was no wood in the neighbourhood which could be used as fuel, consequently the ore must be taken away in its crude state. Next, there were obstructions in the river which would prevent the use of boats to transport the ore to the sea, so that it would be necessary to remove it in waggons. And lastly, the country was not only very difficult to traverse, but it was so parched by the summer heat as not to afford a supply of food for draught cattle. The mouth of the river was too distant to be examined.

During the night of the 11th of January 1762 the water in the Great river rose suddenly. The expedition was encamped on the bank, unsuspicious of danger, and it was with difficulty that the waggons were removed to a place of safety. One night a little later thirty of the oxen were stolen by Bushmen. The colonists had volunteered to accompany the expedition, chiefly with a view of obtaining a large number of cattle in barter, but they had not succeeded according to their anticipations.

No information of a positive kind was obtained concerning the black people to the north, then called Damrocquas, now Damaras or Hereros. But the wild stories that had previously been current of their having long hair and wearing linen clothing were found to be incorrect, for the Great Namaquas knew of no people answering that description except Europeans. Information was obtained concerning the Betshuana, then called Briquas or Birinas, living east of the Kalahari. And it was ascertained that the small pox in 1755 had spread into Great Namaqualand and caused the loss of many lives.

Pieter Marais, one of the burghers who accompanied the expedition, understood the Hottentot language, and was a man given to inquiry. He and Tieleman Roos drew up a report upon the people whom they met, showing that the different clans were members of one tribe. They had witnessed the method of rejoicing at the appearance of the new moon by singing, dancing, and invocations; and they had learned that the Great Namaquas had some faint conception of a deity, whom they called Chuyn (Tsuni-‖goam), but what the nature of this being was supposed to be they had not ascertained. They had seen men smelting copper and working it into ornaments by means of a stone hammer and anvil. The part of the Great river which they saw was called by the Namaquas Chari or Eyn. The last word was the same as that given to Commander Van der Stel by the Little Namaquas in 1685. The first word Chari is the same as Gariep of our days.

On the 27th of April 1762 the expedition reached the castle, none of its members having died or suffered serious illness during the journey.

A little before two o'clock in the morning of the 14th of July 1766 a slight shock of earthquake was felt throughout the Cape peninsula. It was accompanied by a noise like rolling thunder. No damage was caused by it, though at Simonstown it was sufficiently violent to throw the bedsteads in the hospital against the walls of the wards.

In 1767 the small pox was again brought into the colony. On this occasion it was introduced by a Danish ship returning to Europe. From May until November it was prevalent in Capetown, but owing to precautions which were taken, only a few families in the country districts were attacked by it. In 1713 and 1755 it died out entirely when the hot weather set in; but there were occasional cases throughout the summer of 1767-8, and it was not until April 1769 that it quite disappeared. Altogether between eighteen and nineteen hundred persons were attacked, of whom one hundred and seventy-nine Europeans, one hundred and forty-five free blacks, and two hundred and fifty-one slaves died. The ravages of the disease were thus slight when compared with earlier years.

During the period that Governor Tulbagh was at the head of the colony, the town in Table Valley was considerably enlarged, and strangers began to know it by its present name of Capetown, though by the colonists it was still termed the Cape. Several new streets were laid out. The parade ground was again levelled, and an oak hedge was planted round it. The artificial fountains from which the inhabitants got water were renewed. The building used from 1796 to 1905 as municipal offices, on Greenmarket square, was erected at the expense of the inhabitants, under the direction of the burgher councillors, to serve as a burgher watchhouse. The graveyard round the church was closed in 1770, though interments within the building itself took place until 1836. The hospital was falling to ruins, and it had been resolved by the directors to build a new one, but the work was not yet commenced, though the materials were being collected. The fortifications were repaired, and a new battery was constructed near the mouth of Salt River. The tower of the church was raised a few feet, and a clock was placed in it, which, however, on account of something being defective did not indicate the time until the 25th of November 1771. No enlargements were made to the building, though it was too small for the growing congregation. It was only in October 1779, more than eight years after Mr. Tulbagh's death, that the consistory resolved to increase the accommodation without further delay. The church was then lengthened, and a gallery was added to it, the whole being completed in June 1781, after which date no alterations of importance were made in the building. In June 1836 it was broken down to make place for the present structure.

At Simonstown expensive works were carried out. The hospital—a square building of thirty-nine metres and a half frontage—was commenced in 1760 and completed in 1765. Substantial storehouses were then put up, and when these were finished, in 1768 a stone pier was constructed. A slaughter house, a bakery, workshops for smiths and carpenters, and a dwelling house for the officer in charge of the station, followed. The building erected in the time of Governor Swellengrebel—which was one hundred and thirty-seven metres in length and had previously served for all purposes—was now used solely as quarters for the garrison and workmen. In March 1751 Adriaan de Nys was appointed postholder in succession to Justinus Blas. Mr. De Nys died in May 1761, when Jan Frederik Kirsten was appointed officer in charge at Simonstown, with the title of resident.

The village of Stellenbosch was also considerably enlarged and improved in appearance during this period. On the 31st of October 1762 the drostdy buildings were destroyed by fire, but they were shortly re-erected in a handsomer style. On the 30th of May 1768 much damage was done to the village by a flood, which for some hours threatened the total destruction of the place. The same thing had occurred once before—on the 13th of October 1716. To prevent similar disasters in future, the course of the river was altered, according to plans furnished by the heemraad Martin Melk, under whose supervision the work was carried out. In September 1748, upon the death of Pieter Lourens, Adriaan van Schoor was appointed landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In August 1763 this gentleman was promoted to an office in Capetown, and Jacobus Johannes le Sueur succeeded him as landdrost. Mr. Le Sueur held the appointment until June 1769, when he was promoted and was succeeded by Lucas Sigismundus Faber.

Swellendam remained a mere hamlet. To facilitate access to it from the Cape, in 1757 a pontoon was placed on the Breede river, close to the junction of the Zonderend. In 1766 Mr. Horak retired from the Company's service and became a burgher, when Joachim Frederik Mentz, who had previously been secretary of the district, was appointed landdrost.

During the administration of Mr. Tulbagh the Hottentots gave very little trouble to the colonists. The clans that still held together in compact bodies within the limits of the European settlement retained their own government, though their chiefs were practically appointed by the Dutch authorities. Only when Europeans or slaves were also concerned were they made amenable to colonial law. But the greater number of these people had lost their old tribal distinctions, and recognised no chief of their own race. Many of them were living as dependents of farmers, or wandered about the country, taking service occasionally as they felt disposed. These were of necessity to some extent amenable to colonial law, even in matters affecting their relationship to each other.

There were instances of harsh and unjust treatment of Hottentots by colonists, especially on the remote border; but the courts of law were open for their protection, and the heavy sentences that are found recorded against European criminals in such cases prove that the law was not a dead letter. The government of Mr. Tulbagh, being popular, was strong; and oppression of the Hottentots on any large scale could only take place in times of anarchy. Farms were allotted to European colonists without consulting them, which will be considered just or unjust according as one regards the right of property in the soil by a race of nomads, themselves the descendants of immigrants, unacquainted with agriculture. In the parts of the country long settled there were tracts of land specially reserved for their use, and on the border there was plenty of open ground for them and their cattle, so that this question was not a pressing one. It had already been noticed, and was as well recognised then as it is now, that nearly every case of cruelty by colonists was committed by men who either had coloured blood in their veins or who had mixed with the uncivilised coloured people on terms of equality.

The government was anxious to prevent the Hottentots from becoming possessed of guns and horses, as many of those who accompanied the elephant hunters in their expeditions had learned to be expert marksmen, and might prove dangerous to the peace of the colony if mounted and armed. In 1755 some Hottentots in the district of Swellendam acquired several horses and a couple of muskets as wages from burghers, when the landdrost was instructed to endeavour to procure the forbidden property in a friendly way in exchange for something else, and strictly to prohibit such transactions in future.

With Bushmen there were occasional contests.

In the spring of 1754 a large party of these savages made their appearance in the Roggevelden, and drove off great herds of cattle. Only one individual—a Hottentot—was murdered by them; but the farmers on the north-western frontier abandoned their homes in alarm. The military board (krygsraad) of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein instructed the field corporals Willem van Wyk, Godlieb Opperman, Nicolaas Ryk, Pieter van Zyl, Barend Lubbe, and Barend Vorster to proceed with their forces against the robbers. For six weeks the commando was in the field, as the Bushmen retired to mountains, where they made an obstinate resistance. One stronghold was besieged in vain, the robbers from secure positions shouting defiance and declaring they would have the whole of the cattle in the country. In other places, however, sixty-four Bushmen were killed, at a cost on the farmers' side, of one white man and two Hottentots wounded. The commando then returned home, with only seven head of cattle out of all that had been lost.

A little later in the same year the cattle of Jacobus Gildenhuis were driven away from his farm in the Bokkeveld. Gildenhuis's neighbours—Dirk Koekemoer, Jan van Aswegen, and Andries van der Heiden—with twenty Hottentots, pursued, shot down twenty-six of the robbers, wounded eight others, and recovered nearly all the cattle. The Bushmen in that part of the country then promised to abstain from robbery, and peace was made with them.

In May 1758 a party of about two hundred Bushmen from beyond the interior range of mountains made a raid into the Roggeveld, and drove off some four hundred head of cattle. A commando, under David van der Merwe, assembled and pursued the robbers for fourteen days. The Bushmen were overtaken in a mountain, when fifty-six were shot, and all the cattle but forty-eight were recovered. Commandant Van der Merwe was slightly wounded, but there was no other casualty on the European side.

In the winter of 1763 a party of Bushmen drove off the cattle of Pieter Loubser from his farm in the Bokkeveld. A European named Hermanus Vos and a few Hottentots pursued the robbers, but upon being overtaken the Bushmen turned and killed Vos with poisoned arrows, when the Hottentots retreated. Landdrost Van Schoor called out a commando, which was placed under order of Dirk Koekemoer. The commando searched for the Bushmen three weeks without success, and then broke up. In January 1764 the farms of Nicolaas Loubser and Willem Engelbrecht were in the same way cleared of cattle. On this occasion a commando assembled more hastily, when the Bushmen were surrounded, and the whole of them were shot.

In June 1764 some Bushmen visited a cattle station on the Zak river, where the burgher Jacob van Reenen had a flock of sheep running. They murdered Van Reenen's European servant, who was in charge of the station, and drove off three hundred sheep. Upon hearing what had occurred, Gerrit van Wyk, who was the nearest field corporal, raised a commando and hunted up the robbers. Their retreat was discovered, and they were attacked, when twenty-five of them were shot, and ten children were taken away. Only sixty-three sheep were recovered. The children were distributed as servants among some of the members of the commando, on the ground that it would be unjust to shoot them for the sins of their parents, that to leave behind those whose parents were killed would be to leave them to perish, and that those who had relatives to provide for them would assuredly become robbers if not removed from evil influences.

In May 1770 some Bushmen drove off thirty-four head of cattle from the farm of Casper Scholtz on the Salt river, between the present villages of Beaufort West and Murraysburg. Adriaan van Jaarsveld, a man whose name was afterwards to be well known throughout South Africa, was then field corporal of that part of the country. He mustered a commando, followed the Bushmen, and shot six of them, the others managing to escape. The cattle were found dead. The commando, before dispersing, came across a party of Bushmen in the act of lifting the cattle of David van Heerden. They shot two, and made prisoners of the others, who were afterwards distributed as servants.

Later in the same year many of the farms along both sides of the Roggeveld and Nieuwveld mountains were plundered by Bushmen, and three servants of Barend Lubbe, Cornelis van Wyk, and Willem van Zyl were murdered. The field corporals assembled their forces, hunted up the plunderers, and shot a good many, the exact number not being given. Some of the cattle were recovered, and for a time it was hoped that there would be no more depredations. But early in 1771 the Bushmen mustered in force, laid siege to several houses, murdered three of Jacob Joubert's servants, and drove off large herds of cattle. Adriaan van Jaarsveld determined upon giving the marauders a severe lesson. With thirty picked men, well mounted, he took the field, and did not return until he had counted ninety-two dead Bushmen. After that there was quietness for a short time.

In December 1769 a commission consisting of Lucas Sigismundus Faber, landdrost of Stellenbosch, Joachim Frederik Mentz, landdrost of Swellendam, two heemraden from each court, and the two secretaries, was directed to lay down a permanent boundary between the two districts. The Zwartberg range was settled upon as a good dividing line, the country to the north being allotted to Stellenbosch, and that to the south to Swellendam.

The commission was also required to inspect the most distant farms and ascertain the state of affairs on the frontier. They reported that they found between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers many persons with large herds of cattle, who were not paying rent to the Company, and others who were paying for a farm within the colonial limits, but who were moving about with their cattle wherever they pleased. They had reason also to believe that notwithstanding the placaat of the 8th of December 1739, which prohibited the purchase of cattle from the barbarous inhabitants, a large trade with the Xosas was being carried on, for they found a well-beaten waggon-road from Swellendam into Kaffirland.

The council of policy therefore resolved—13th of February 1770—that on the northern or Stellenbosch side of the Zwartberg and the corresponding range farther eastward the colonial boundary should be the hills known as Bruintjes Hoogte, that on the southern or Swellendam side it should be the Gamtoos river, that all persons then beyond these limits should be called upon to return within them, that all cattle found away from farms held on lease as well as all found in possession of nomads should be forfeited to the Company, and that the landdrosts who neglected to prevent such irregularities should be dismissed and declared incapable of serving the Company.

Governor Tulbagh was regarded as a model officer by his superiors in Europe and India. In March 1755 he was raised to the dignity of councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India, a position which gave him higher rank than that of governor, though it did not add to his duties. In March 1767 he was further elevated to be an ordinary councillor. He had now only two superiors out of Europe, the governor-general and the director-general.

In his declining years he was often laid upon a bed of sickness. In 1766 his life was despaired of, but he rallied, though he did not recover his former strength. At length, in the winter of 1771, he was prostrated by illness which he felt was to be his last, for to other ailments was now added a painful attack of gout in the feet. His deathbed, on which he lay for eleven weeks, was one of patient suffering and contemplation of the hereafter. In the afternoon of the 11th of August he appeared to be better than usual, but between five and six o'clock in the evening, without a struggle, his spirit passed away. He died at the age of seventy-two years and nearly three months.

A quarter of a century earlier he had been surrounded by his wife's relatives, who were then numerous. At the time of his death he had no nearer connection in South Africa than the three brothers Le Sueur, who were his wife's nephews. The whole of the Swellengrebel family had moved to other countries or had died out. The governor had no children, and he had been a widower since October 1753. By his will he bequeathed £416 13*s.* 4*d.* to the board of deacons on condition of supporting his infirm slaves until death, the remainder of his slaves he emancipated, and he bestowed small legacies upon a maternal uncle and his wife's near relatives. The remainder of his property he left to his younger brother, Jan Tulbagh, a retired captain of the national army, who was living at Bergen-op-Zoom, and to whom for a long time he had made an allowance of £200 a year.

On the morning after Mr. Tulbagh's death, the council of policy met to make provision for carrying on the government. The principal offices at the time were filled by men with only acting appointments. In April 1766 the secunde Van Oudtshoorn had gone to Europe on leave of absence to attend to his private affairs, when the fiscal Cloppenburg was chosen to act for him, and Mr. Otto Luder Hemmy was directed to act as fiscal. In March 1767 a despatch from the directors was received, announcing that Mr., then Baron, Van Oudtshoorn had resigned, that Mr. Cloppenburg was to succeed as secunde, and Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg—then a member of the high court of justice at Batavia—was appointed fiscal. On the 21st of December of the same year Mr. Van Plettenberg arrived in South Africa. On the 30th of May 1770 Mr. Cloppenburg died, and the council then directed Mr. Van Plettenberg to act as secunde until the directors could make their wishes known. He was also to perform the most important of the fiscal's duties, but his assistant, Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, was to relieve him of the routine work of the office. This was the condition of matters at the time of Mr. Tulbagh's death, for the directors had not yet expressed their pleasure.

The council decided that Mr. Van Plettenberg should act both as governor and secunde, and that the secretary, Mr. Olof Martini Bergh, should act also as fiscal until the supreme authorities could make new appointments. They then resolved to go into full mourning with their families for six weeks. The principal townspeople did the same. The funeral of the late governor was kept back till the

17th, to allow the country people to attend. On that day the town was filled as it never had been before, and with all the solemnity and state that was possible the remains of the landsfather were laid beneath the pavement of the church.*

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* During the two centuries succeeding the formation of the colony—1652 to 1852—Ryk Tulbagh was at the head of the government longer than any other individual, as the following list will show :—

Ryk Tulbagh	nearly	$20\frac{1}{2}$	years.
Simon van der Stel		$19\frac{1}{3}$	„
Joachim van Plettenberg		$13\frac{1}{2}$	„
Hendrik Swellengrebel		$11\frac{5}{6}$	„
Jan de la Fontaine	nearly	11	„
Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes	nearly	$10\frac{1}{2}$	„
Jan van Riebeek		$10\frac{1}{12}$	„
Lord Charles Somerset		10	„
Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel	nearly	$8\frac{1}{3}$	„
Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff		$6\frac{1}{3}$	„
Sir George Napier	nearly	$6\frac{1}{6}$	„
Sir Lowry Cole		$4\frac{11}{12}$	„
Zacharias Wagenaar	nearly	$4\frac{5}{12}$	„
Sir Harry Smith		$4\frac{1}{3}$	„
Earl of Caledon		$4\frac{1}{12}$	„
Sir Benjamin D'Urban		4	„
Louis van Assenburgh	nearly	$3\frac{11}{12}$	„
Isbrand Goske		$3\frac{5}{12}$	„
Jan Willem Janssens	nearly	$2\frac{11}{12}$	„
Major-General Dundas	nearly	$2\frac{11}{12}$	„
Sir Peregrine Maitland		$2\frac{10}{12}$	„
Sir John Cradock		$2\frac{7}{12}$	years.
Sir Richard Bourke		$2\frac{1}{2}$	„
Johan Bax		$2\frac{1}{4}$	„
Willem Helot		$2\frac{1}{4}$	„
Pieter Gysbert Noodt		$2\frac{1}{6}$	„
Abraham Josias Sluysken		2	„
Sir Rufane Donkin	nearly	$1\frac{11}{12}$	„
Jacob Borghorst		$1\frac{3}{4}$	„
Cornelis van Quaelberg	nearly	$1\frac{3}{4}$	„
Pieter Hackius		$1\frac{2}{3}$	„
Daniel van den Henghel	nearly	$1\frac{7}{12}$	„
Lord Macartney		$1\frac{1}{2}$	„
Major-General Craig	nearly	$1\frac{1}{2}$	„
Sir George Yonge		$1\frac{1}{3}$	„
Hendrik Crudop		$1\frac{1}{4}$	„
Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius	nearly	$1\frac{1}{6}$	„
Johan Isaac Rhenius		1	„
Major-General Baird		1	„
Sir Henry Pottinger		$\frac{5}{6}$	„
Johan Cornelis d'Ableing	nearly	$\frac{2}{3}$	„
Albert van Breugel		$\frac{1}{2}$	„
Lieutenant-General Grey		$\frac{1}{2}$	„
Lieutenant-Colonel Wade		$\frac{5}{12}$	„
Adriaan van Kervel		$\frac{1}{18}$	„

The principal names added to the burgher population during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and that are still to be found in South Africa were:—

Carel Aggenbach, before 1773,
Maarten Arents, before 1751,
Erik Gustavus Aspeling, 1758,
Jan Gerrit Bantjes, 1755,
Jan Nicolaas Barkhuizen, before 1771,
Johan Matthys Benade, 1752,
Anthonie Berrangé, before 1752,
Jan David Beyers, 1757,
Jan Hendrik de Boer, 1770,
Johan Christoffel Bredenkamp, 1763,
Johan Bresler, before 1761,
Johan Christiaan Bresler, 1750,
Casper Brevis, before 1766,
Pieter Briers, before 1775,
Jan Christoffel Broodrik, 1751,
Hendrik Arnoldus Brugman, before 1756,
Wilhelm Buissinné, 1764,
Johan George Carinus, before 1774,
Jan van Coeverden, before 1769,
Lourens Cornelissen, 1755,
Hendrik Bartholomeus Crause, 1750,
Gerhardus Croeser, 1754,
Johan Deetlefs, before 1773,
Johan Frederik Deysel, before 1752,
Jan Christoffel Dill, before 1757,
Godfried Droskie, before 1757,
Abraham Duvenage, 1765,
Johan Hendrik Eckard, before 1756,
Caspar van Eerten, before 1761,
Johan Hendrik Ehlers, before 1769,
Zacharias Arend Eloff, 1759,
Johan Martin Els, before 1764,
Johan Adam Enslin, before 1761,
Willem van Eyk, 1755,
Meyndert van Eyk, 1767,
Matthys van Eyssen, before 1763,
Jan Jurgen Faber, before 1771,
Hendrik Fehrsen, before 1756,
Johan Fischer, 1759,
Carel August Freislich, 1759,
Johan Coenraad Froneman, 1771,
Johan Hendrik Gans, 1770,
Carel Frederik Geere, before 1755,
George Carel Geeringh, before 1768,
August Wilhelm Genade, before 1770,
Johan Godfried Geneke, before 1771,
Frans Anthonie Gerber, before 1767,
Johan Christoffel Germishuyzen, 1757,
Lucas Gertenbach, 1768,
Ferdinand Christiaan Geyer, 1764,
Hendrik Geyser, before 1759,
Johan Coenraad Gie, 1751,
Jan Godfried Grabe, before 1772,
Johan David Griesel, before 1760,
Pieter Caspar Hammes, before 1763,
Andries Hanssen, before 1769,
Carel Albrecht Haupt, before 1756,
Harmen Sibolts Havinga, before 1761,
Johan Pieter Heckroodt, before 1758,

Pieter Hendrik Henning, before 1768,
Jan Hendrik Herbst, before 1757,
Johan Georg Herbst, 1770,
Johan Zacharias Herman, 1767,
Johan Andries Heyneke, before 1753,
Frederik Arnold Heyneman, 1762,
Hermanus ter Hoeven, before 1774,
Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, before 1757,
Jan Marthinus Holtman, before 1772,
Andries Hough, before 1765,
Frederik Hurling, before 1751,
Jan Willem Hurter, before 1755,
Rutger van Huysteen, 1773,
Justus Ludolph Immelman, before 1755,
Sirke Jansen, before 1755,
Cornelis Nicolaas de Kat, before 1764,
Johan Rynhard Keet, 1755,
Frans Michiel Kilian, 1763,
Johan Georg Kilian, 1769,
Ernst Hendrik Klynsmit, before 1756,
Thomas Knoetzen, 1769,
August Christoffel Koch, 1757,
Godfried Frederik Koch, 1766,
Jan Frederik Koegelenberg, before 1753,
Carel Frederik Kolbe, before 1762,
Christiaan Lodewyk Koning, before 1763,
Theodorus de Kooker, before 1764,
Jan Koster, before 1761,
Johan Andries Kramer, before 1763,
Johan Christiaan Kriegler, 1771,
Johan Jacob Kritzinger, 1769,
Johan Kuun, 1767,
Johan Frederik Lange, before 1775,
Arend de Lange, 1752,
Johan Las, before 1758,
Cornelis de Leeuw, before 1756,
Johan Christoffel Leeuwner, before 1768,
Johan Frederik Lehman, 1765,
Johan Sebastiaan Leibbrandt, 1774,
Christiaan Godlieb Lessing, before 1758,
Andreas Christoffel Lind, before 1773,
Hans Jurgen Linde, 1753,
Johan Georg Lochner, 1765,
Christiaan Loedolff, 1755,
Frans Lottering, before 1759,
Johan Wilhelm Lotz, before 1765,
Joachim Ernst Ludeke, before 1771,
Joseph Matthys, before 1769,
Johan Nicolaas Meeser, 1752,
Philip Lodewyk Metzler, before 1773,
Anthonie Michiels, before 1770,
Johan Godfried Mocke, 1763,
Hans Diederik Mohr, before 1752,
Johan Jacob Momberg, 1752,
Jan Casper Morgendaal, 1762,
Johan Tobias Mynhardt, 1756,
Hendrik Nagel, 1759,
Philip Jacob Naude, 1754,
Coenraad Nelson, 1761,
Frans van Nierop, before 1754,
Gerrit van Nimwegen, before 1754,
Jan Hendrik Ninaber, before 1770,
Andries Nolte, 1753,
Jan Hendrik Nyhoff, before 1765,
Constantyn van Nuld Onkruydt, before 1773,

Bernard Wilhelm Oppel, before 1773,
Pieter van Papendorp, before 1765,
Christiaan Paulsen, before 1756,
Jan Hendrik Pepler, 1759,
Barthold Pietersen, before 1761,
Philip Poggenpoel, 1768,
Frederik Jan Poolman, before 1765,
Jacobus Rademeyer, 1751,
Johan Adam Raubenheimer, 1769,
Georg Frederik Rautenbach, 1757,
Johannes Hermanus Redelinghuys, before 1751,
Jan Adam Rens, 1754,
David Reynders, before 1764,
Jan van der Riet, 1752,
Jacobus Roeland, 1750,
Nicolaas Roets, before 1759,
Johan Christoffel Rog, before 1753,
Daniel Roode, before 1752,
Jan Bernard Rudolph, before 1772,
Daniel van Ryneveld, 1759,
Johan Michiel Sadie, before 1762,
Gerrit Schierhout, before 1770,
Johan Frederik Schikkerling, 1773,
Daniel Joachim Schoeman, 1750,
Jan Frederik Scholtz, 1761,
Andries Godlieb Schoonbee, 1765,
Coenraad Schreyn, before 1764,
Johan Andries Schultz, before 1765,
Frans Sebrits, before 1774,
— Serfontein before 1760,
Johannes Petrus Serrurier, 1760,
Nicolaas Sertyn, before 1760,
Johan Siebert, before 1769,
Carel Wilhelm Smalberger, before 1762,
Jan Maarten Smalbergen, before 1757,
Jan Hendrik Christoffel Smidt, before 1760,
Jurgen Smit, before 1771,
Johan Anthonie Smith, before 1771,
Johan George Stadler, 1756,
Hendrik Stander, before 1752,
Frans Hendrik Stapelberg, 1755,
Jan Joost Steenberg, before 1751,
Johan Steyn, before 1760,
Johan Georg Steytler, 1766,
Johan Michiel Stigling, 1752,
Johan David Storm, before 1756,
Hendrik Stroebel, 1764,
Jan Struywig, before 1753,
Adam Tas, before 1772,
Jan Marthinus Theunissen, before 1769,
Hendrik Thiart, before 1764,
Frans Thuynsma, before 1773,
Jan Rudolph Timm, before 1752,
Bernhard de Vaal, 1773,
Jan Hendrik Veldman, 1757,
Jan Verlee, before 1755,
Willem Ferdinand Versfeld, 1771,
Jacobus Verster, 1760,
Johan Pieter Voges, 1757,
Kenne Nicolaas Volsteedt, before 1761,
Bernard Vrey, 1750,
Johan Pieter Wagenaar, 1764,
Jan Christiaan Wahl, before 1757,
Jan Hendrik Weeber, 1765,
Johan Coenraad Werner, before 1774,
Dirk Westerhoff, before 1760,
Stephanus Janse Weyers, before 1771,
Siwert Jacob Wiid, 1752,
Johan Carel Winterbach, 1757,
Maurits Herman Otto Woeke, 1769,
Georg Christoffel Wolhuter, 1773,
Pieter Zeeman, 1753,
Godfried Christiaan Ziedeman, before 1756,
Johan Hendrik Zinn, 1765.

CHAPTER XLVII.

HISTORY OF THE XOSA TRIBE.

AT this time the European colonists who were pushing their way eastward came in contact with offshoots of the Xosa tribe, the southernmost section of the Bantu family. At the close of the sixteenth century this tribe, like the Tembus, Pondomsis and Pondos beyond, was either not yet in existence as a community distinct in government from others, or was insignificant in strength and numbers. In 1593 a party of wrecked Portuguese who passed through the territory between the Umtata river and Delagoa Bay found no chief of any note south of the Abambo horde, that then occupied the northern coast belt of Natal and extended inland along the Tugela river.

These Abambo were recent immigrants, who had come from some locality far away beyond the Zambesi river in a northwesterly direction, and had settled in a district where there were no communities strong enough to oppose them. It is possible that the Xosas may have been a clan of this great horde, or they may have formed a little independent community farther in advance to the southward, or they may have been fugitives and wanderers from various tribes broken by the invasion of the Abambo and not yet united under a new common head. Of these alternatives, the last named is the most probable, or perhaps a little community had already been formed of scattered wanderers, but was still in its earliest infancy. A parallel for the formation of such a community is to be found in modern times in the creation of the Basuto tribe by Moshesh.

That the Xosas, Tembus, Pondos, &c., originated in this manner is probable from the circumstance that in each of these tribes there are families of the same designation or patronymic as in the others, who are not permitted to intermarry. These families must at one time have been members of the same tribe, which was broken up by war, and the fragments afterwards combined with other fugitives to form new communities. Xosa, Tembu, and Pondo, who were real personages, not mythical names, must have lived towards the close of the sixteenth century, hardly much later.

Among these people there must always have been, as there are now, men who professed to know the history of the past, and who communicated their knowledge to others younger than themselves, in order that it might not be lost. Yet when inquiries concerning the origin of the tribe began to be made by Europeans during the early years of the nineteenth century, all that any one was able to tell was that it had been founded a long time previously by a chief named Xosa. No one knew how it was formed, or anything whatever about the founder except his name. It was not known either where it originated, though according to tradition its early home, like that of every other Bantu tribe south of the Zambesi, was far away in the north.

Research in Portuguese documents concerning the south-eastern coast of Africa from 1505 onward has not dispelled the uncertainty that surrounds the origin of all the modern Bantu tribes now living south of the Umkomanzi river. Documentary evidence and tradition alike failing to furnish what is needed, recourse must be had to indirect means of getting as much information as is possible, though much of that must necessarily be probable rather than certain. The dialects of all the tribes south of Inhambane are so similar that the people speaking them cannot have been separated for a lengthy period, and as some of those tribes have come down from a western region beyond the

Zambesi in historical times, the others cannot have preceded them long. To mention a date, however, would be hazardous, and perhaps it would even be too much to say that five hundred years ago, or at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ancestors of the Xosas, Tembus, Pondos, &c., were certainly living in some unknown locality near the western coast north of the Zambesi river. The ancestral animal—a species of snake—is the same among them all, which shows that they were at some remote time a single community.

It would be useless to surmise whether the ancestors of the tribes here named were in advance from the beginning of the migration, or whether they forced their way down through others now in the rear. From the whirling mass of barbarians in the north, offshoots were thrown to a distance, drawn in again, and again expelled, fragments were constantly coming into collision, being shattered to pieces, and presently reforming in new combinations, all was confusion, disorder, and strife. Out of this uncertainty as to origin, position, or time, a single name, that of Xosa, appears in the narratives of the antiquaries, without the slightest indication as to his birth, his merits, or the means by which he formed an independent tribe. His name is merely given as the first in a line of chiefs, which is as follows: (1) Xosa, (2) Malangana, (3) Nkoziyamtu, (4) Tshawe, (5) Ncwangu, (6) Sikomo, (7) Togu, (8) Gconde, (9) Tshiwo, (10) Palo, (11) Gcaleka, (12) Kawuta, (13) Hintsa, (14) Sarili, called by Europeans Kreli, (15) Sigcawu, the present chief.

They believe that before the time of Nkoziyamtu there was a law that a chief might have as many wives as he chose, but only one son was allowed to live. All the others were destroyed in infancy, in order to prevent rivalry and disputes concerning the succession. Nkoziyamtu introduced the custom of the right hand wife, and thus preserved two sons alive. These were Cira, great son, and Jwara, right hand son.

A third, who was destined to surpass both his brothers in barbarian fame, was preserved by the flight of his mother to her father's people, the Abambo. Among them the boy, Tshawe by name, grew up, and proved himself so valiant that a large number of young men were given to him as followers by the chief, for he was known to be the son of Nkoziyamtu. At length he became desirous of visiting his father and showing his greatness, so at the head of his followers and with immense herds of cattle he journeyed southward from Embo. On the way he was joined by many people whose only weapons were clubs and stones, and who were glad of the opportunity of ranging themselves under such a famous leader.

Upon arriving in the country of his father, he found that Nkoziyamtu was dead. His two brothers assembled their followers to oppose him, and a battle took place, in which they were completely defeated, owing to Tshawe's original retainers being armed with assagais, weapons unknown before to the Amaxosa. This battle established Tshawe's supremacy in the land, and he was joined thereafter by nearly all his father's people, though he still acknowledged the superiority in rank of Cira. As for Jwara, he wandered away with a few followers to the north, and died there.

This legend shows that remote events may easily become grouped round a comparatively modern hero. The assagai was to a certainty in use by all the Bantu long before the time of Tshawe. In the Xosa folklore there are tales of people using stone weapons, which must have had their origin at a very distant date, for iron was known to the Bantu long before the formation of any of the tribes now existing. But being aware from these traditionary tales that there was a time when their ancestors were unacquainted with that metal, and Tshawe being their great hero, they attributed its introduction to him. The Amaxosa are not alone in this respect, for there are other tribes in South Africa who have traditions in which the use of iron was made known to them by their most famous chief.

There is some corroborative evidence of the battle in which Tshawe was victorious, in traditions among the people farther north of the defeat of Jwara and his subsequent wanderings. The traditions are dim and devoid of particulars, but the name of the chief has been preserved, together with the fact of his having been driven by war from his own people to die in exile.

What ultimately became of Cira, whether he died childless or whether his descendants sank to the level of commoners, no Xosa antiquary is now able to say. He passed entirely out of sight.

Tshawe is the hero of many legends, and stands prominently out among the great ones of the misty past. In his time there was no want and no distress of any kind, but all his people were happy and prosperous, with millet and cattle everywhere in plenty. The two chiefs before him are often omitted in the line of descent, and he is then termed the great one of Xosa's sons. He deserves, indeed, to be considered the real founder of the tribe, for in him the direct line of the great chiefs was lost. To this day all his descendants are of aristocratic rank in the Xosa tribe.

But the legends concerning him and of the golden age in which he flourished are certainly highly exaggerated, for at or soon after the time when he must have lived the territory between the Kei river and Sofala was traversed by shipwrecked people, without any mention of his name or of a Xosa tribe being made by the officer who drew up for his government an account of that journey, though the narrative covers ninety-six printed pages. From it can be gathered, indeed, that west of the Umzimvubu river the Bantu inhabitants were then very sparsely scattered. Briefly, it is as follows:

On the 1st of March 1622 the Portuguese ship *S. João Baptista* left Goa for Lisbon with defective armament, with pumps much too small, and with a rotten rudder taken from a vessel broken up long before. When about twenty days out, it was found that she had several feet of water in the hold, and as only one pump would work she could not be got dry again, though the quantity was reduced by baling.

In the latitude of 35½° S., on the 19th of July two Dutch ships were encountered, and a running fight commenced, which was kept up at intervals during nineteen days. At the end of that time the *S. João Baptista* was waterlogged, with her mainmast and bowsprit shattered and her rudder gone, but during the night after the final action the Dutch ships separated from her, and they were not seen again. She then drifted about at the mercy of the winds and waves until the end of September, when she was close to the African coast, and her anchors were dropped. The boats were at once got out, and the crew and passengers landed, with a quantity of provisions and goods adapted for trade, as well as a number of valuable jewels. Between the ship and the shore eighteen persons were drowned, as the coast was wild. The exact locality cannot be given, though it is stated to have been in latitude 33° S., but it must have been somewhere between the Fish and Kei rivers.

On the 3rd of October some Hottentots were seen approaching. The wrecked people took up arms and prepared for defence, but the Hottentots sat down at a distance, and the men were then seen to give their assagais to the children, after which they came forward with outstretched arms, while the women got up and commenced to dance. They were lighter in colour than mulattos, but were partly painted with red ochre and powdered coals. Friendship was at once established between the parties, and an ox and some milk were obtained by the Portuguese in exchange for bits of iron.

The wrecked people remained there a little longer than a month, making preparations for a journey northward. They obtained a great many cattle in barter for iron, though they were unable to learn a single word of the Hottentot language, which the journalist of these events described as a continuous clicking noise and not human speech. On the 6th of November they set out on their journey. There were two hundred and seventy-nine souls in all, including three ladies and eight children. They had obtained from the Hottentots seventeen pack oxen, which were laden with provisions, and every man bore a heavy load. A feeble old nobleman, Lopo de Sousa by name, was carried in a hammock, and three other hammocks were taken for the use of the ladies and little children.

They found the country as they advanced intersected with many streams, and trees for firewood were plentiful, but no food was obtainable. They ascertained that the inhabitants lived upon wild plants, shellfish, and the proceeds of the chase, being utterly ignorant of agriculture, though the soil seemed rich.

On the second evening of their march they reached the bank of a river, where they encamped, and placed the cattle in as good an enclosure as they could make, round which they stationed guards. But this precaution was of little avail, for during the night they were attacked by a large party of Bushmen with dogs, who wounded three of them, and drove off all the cattle. Many of the savages were killed in the encounter, but that was no satisfaction to the unfortunate travellers, who were filled with dismay by the loss of their oxen.

They knew, however, that some distance in front were people who had cattle, and as they were well provided with pieces of copper and brass, they went on, each man's load being increased to as much as he could possibly carry. The heavy dews at night caused them great discomfort, which was increased by violent thunderstorms, so that soon the feeblest began to drop behind and die.

On the fifteenth day after setting out they came to a river, where they were detained until they could make a raft to cross it. Here they examined the burdens carefully, and threw away everything that could be regarded as superfluous. Keeping on along the coast, two days later they came to another river, and found some wild people who had just killed a hippopotamus, the flesh of which they obtained in barter for trinkets.

Shortly after crossing this river, a pitiable occurrence took place. Among the children were two little orphans, son and daughter of a wealthy Portuguese who had died on board the ship. The little girl now became exhausted, and though a very large sum of money was offered by the captain to the bearers of the hammocks if they would carry her in addition to their other burdens, they declared that they could not. One of the friars—there were three of them—then gave her what consolation he could, and she was left behind to die. Her brother wanted to remain with her, but was forced away, though a few days later he too was abandoned in like manner.

By this time their sufferings from hunger were very great. They kept along the shore in order to get shellfish, and ate all kinds of impure things and wild plants, though some of these proved to be poisonous and nearly caused the death of several persons.

About the 15th of December they came to the first Bantu kraal. In the narrative there are no particulars given by which the place can be identified, except that it was on the bank of a river, at the mouth of which great quantities of fish were to be had at low water. Very likely the river was the Bashee. The kraal consisted of fifteen huts, and when five Europeans suddenly made their appearance in front of it the women and children raised loud cries, and the men sprang up and threw firebrands at the strangers. A Portuguese thereupon aimed with his arquebuss, and killed three of them with the shot. This would seem to be a bad opening of intercourse, but the chief, on seeing the strength of the white people, was understood to throw the blame of commencing hostilities upon the dead men, and thereafter was as friendly as possible. Some gourds were obtained in barter for two little pieces of copper, and on the following morning a young chief made his appearance with a hundred followers armed with assagais and presented a fine ox to the Portuguese captain. Four other oxen were obtained in barter, and the travellers, thinking they had now reached a land of plenty, moved on with lighter hearts.

But they were doomed to be terribly disappointed. Day after day they marched forward for nearly a week without seeing any one, and when at length human beings were again met, these were so impoverished as to depend for food upon catching fish, almost the last resource of the Bantu of the south. Nothing more than a little millet bread was to be procured. The hammock bearers now stated that it was impossible for them to carry their burdens farther. They were faint with hunger, and already many of the company had laid down exhausted and died. Great sums of money were offered to them if they would persevere, but they replied that they could not, even if the treasures of the world were to be their reward.

It was therefore resolved that all who were unable to walk must be left behind. The consolations of religion were offered by the friars, and then the strong proceeded on their way, abandoning the feeble nobleman Lopo de Sousa, an old lady, by name Dona Maria Colaça, Dona Beatriz Alvrez, wife of Luis da Fonseca,—who was in India,—three of her children,* and several others. A son of Dona Beatriz, sixteen years old, could have gone on,

*As soon as possible after tidings of his terrible loss reached him, Luis da Fonseca fitted out a vessel to search along the coast for his wife and children, but no trace of the unfortunate people could be found.

but refused to leave his mother. The youngest child of this unhappy lady was taken forward, so that the whole family might not perish, but he died a little later. Some pieces of copper and brass and two pots were left with the abandoned people, in case an opportunity should be offered to purchase food. They were heard of some time afterwards, when a negro who stayed with them a couple of days rejoined the main party. They were then still alive, though De Sousa and Dona Beatriz were unable to move and were dying of hunger.

The travellers staggered onward, finding nothing more than a few crabs to eat, but two days later came to some kraals where cattle and milk and vegetable food could be procured for bits of copper. There some of them died from over eating. They left with thirteen head of cattle, but as the Bantu did not train all their oxen to carry burdens as the Hottentots did, none were pack animals. Beyond these kraals they were visited by the greatest chief in all the country. Unfortunately the journalist did not record his name or the title of his people, though describing him as blind and grave in demeanour, and mentioning that he offered a present of a little millet and a calabash. His people held him in great respect, and he governed according to laws which were strictly enforced.

Two days' march beyond this chief's residence the party came to the largest river that they saw during the whole journey. There can be little doubt from the description and other circumstances that this river was the Umzimvubu, though it is not absolutely certain. Along its bank they wandered a whole month before they were able to pass it on a raft, for heavy and frequent thunderstorms kept it in flood.

So far the picture given is of a country very thinly populated, and the description of the greatest chief in it, though he was called a king, is not that of a powerful ruler. There was a settled government, with a few little clans spread over an extensive area, and certainly one, possibly two—Tembu and Xosa,—central authorities west of the Umzimvubu in 1623, but a great tribe was not yet in existence. Other evidence in support of this assertion is found in the fact that the Portuguese, though now greatly reduced in strength, were regarded with fear by the inhabitants. While they were seeking a passage across the river, some of the barbarians robbed a couple of men of their firelocks, upon which the travellers took possession of the kraal to which the offenders belonged, and put to death every one they could seize in it. And the neighbouring kraals, so far from showing resentment, sent messengers to beg for peace. Still another indication of the sparseness of the population is, that though they had still a good supply of copper and brass, equivalent to a well filled purse in Europe, they suffered so terribly from hunger while roaming along the river that the blacks of the party resorted to cannibalism.

East of the Umzimvubu a different scene was presented. Not very far from that river a Portuguese was met who had been wrecked long before, and who was living with the Bantu as one of them. He had partly forgotten his mother tongue, but he was able to tell of another white man and an Indian in a neighbouring kraal, and of plenty of food in advance.

Thereafter, until Delagoa Bay was reached, though individuals frequently remained behind of their own accord or were abandoned owing to their weakness, the narrative is of inhabitants occasionally hostile, but generally bringing oxen, goats, sheep, fowls, millet, and curdled milk to their line of march for sale, and of peaceable and friendly barter.

At Delagoa Bay they learned from a Mozambique negro who could speak their language that no trading vessel had visited the place for two years, and there was no prospect of the speedy arrival of one. There had been a war between two chiefs named Sangane and Manganheyra, and a Portuguese clergyman and three traders belonging to the last expedition had been robbed and killed by the latter. Both the chiefs treated the travellers well, but here fever carried off many of them, and after resting for a month, on the 7th of May 1623 the survivors set out for Inhambane.

At the Manisa river they were very well treated by the chief, who was the most powerful ruler in that part of Africa. When the trading vessel came periodically from Mozambique, the most important station was always in his country, so he was not a stranger to white people. At this place Dona Ursula, widow of Domingos Cardoso de Mello, a lady who had borne all the privations and fatigues of the journey thus far, found herself unable to go farther. One of her sons, with four others of the party, remained with her, and the chief promised to take good care of them.

The others went on. After crossing the Limpopo, they met the first Bantu who used bows and arrows. A little beyond they found the inhabitants hostile, but they forced their way through, and reached Inhambane with most of their jewels, though the copper and brass was exhausted. Their disappointment was great on finding that no trading vessel had been there recently, and none could be looked for during the existing monsoon. A black named Motepe, who professed to be a Christian and who spoke sufficient Portuguese to act as an interpreter for the chiefs when visitors arrived, now proved a very useful friend. Through his agency an arrangement was made that for a stipulated payment one of the chiefs should furnish provisions and an escort of twenty men to conduct two of the party to Sofala, and should provide the others with food and shelter until the arrival of a vessel to take them away.

Those who went to Sofala were joined on the road by a large number of men carrying ivory and ambergris for sale, and on the 28th of July 1623, nearly ten months after their landing from the wreck, they reached the

Portuguese station. One of them died immediately after arrival, the other—the officer who drew up the report of the journey—was very kindly treated by the commandant Luis Lobo. A large boat was sent to Inhambane for the party there, and at length twenty-eight men, the survivors of the two hundred and seventy-nine individuals who set out on that terrible march, reached Mozambique and were able to proceed to Goa.

This narrative cannot be made to fit in with the Xosa traditions concerning the greatness of Tshawe, except on the supposition that he and his followers were still east of the Umzimvubu. This is indeed quite possible, and from his mother being of the Abambo, it seems not unlikely. But in that case the Bantu west of the river in 1623 could not have been of the Xosa tribe, whose members have always in historical times regarded themselves as the pioneers of the Bantu race in its onward march. The Tembus, however, have a tradition that the Xosas were once behind them, but in early times passed to the front, and this would clear away every difficulty. Still it is safer to regard the matter as doubtful, for a tradition of a distant event, preserved by only one tribe and unsupported by other evidence, is of very little value in history.

Twenty-five years after the wreck of the *S. João Baptista* two other Portuguese ships—the *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya* and the *Sacramento*—were lost on the coast between the mouths of the Fish and Kei rivers, and some survivors of their crews marched overland to Delagoa Bay. On Shefina Island they found a temporary trading station, and lying at anchor off it were a couple of pangayos, or large Arab-made boats, from Mozambique. They were thus enabled to get away without further difficulty. In the narrative of their journey unfortunately no names of tribes or chiefs south of Delagoa Bay are given, though dealings with the inhabitants are constantly mentioned, and all that can be learned is that the Bantu population to the southward was becoming denser. One of the sailors who was left behind in this journey was found living in Pondoland forty years later by the crew of the *Stavenisse.* As there must have been a good many white men incorporated in this manner by the southern Bantu clans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the resemblances to European tales which are observed occasionally in the folklore of these people can easily be accounted for.

To Tshawe, say the Xosa antiquaries, succeeded his son Ncwangu, and to him again Sikomo, of neither of whom is anything known beyond the name. The period of their rule was probably very short. The great son of Sikomo was Togu, during whose government according to tradition offshoots of the tribe moved westward as far as the Kei. Here there is another opportunity ot comparing tradition with contemporaneous records. Togu was the great chief of the Xosa tribe in 1687 when the wrecked sailors of the *Stavenisse* were in his country, and they found an offshoot as far west as the mouth of the Buffalo. But that offshoot cannot have been a clan of any importance, for the closest inquiry made by and for the writer of this history from the recognised antiquaries of the tribe has failed to recover any trace of it or of a chief of the name given by the wrecked sailors. It may have been merely a small section of a clan driven out for a time by some petty feud.

The great son of Togu was Gconde, whose usual residence was on the western bank of the Umtata river. He died young, and was buried on the bank of the Ngwanguba, a stream that flows into the Umtata. After his time the tribe rapidly moved westward, and as the Xosas advanced the Tembus occupied the land which they vacated.

Gconde's great son was named Tshiwo; but he had two others who became men of note: Umdange, right hand son, and Tinde, left hand son. The first of these was the founder of the Imidange clan, well known to colonists in all the wars since 1781. The mother of Tinde was of Hottentot blood. How she came to be a wife holding high rank in the household of Gconde is not known to Xosa antiquaries of the present day. Most likely she was of the Damaqua tribe, and it may have been owing to her union with Gconde that this tribe in later years became incorporated with the Tinde clan of the Amaxosa. This is only conjecture; but it is supported by the following facts: (*a*) Xosa traditions agree that the mother of Tinde was a Hottentot woman, and that she occupied the high position of left hand wife of the chief Gconde. (*b*) The Damaqua tribe of Hottentots has been so thoroughly incorporated with the Amantinde clan that since 1775 there is no trace of its separate existence. (*c*) At that date—1775—the Damaquas, though still calling themselves Hottentots, were found by the traveller Sparrman more nearly to resemble Bantu in appearance. The incorporation may have taken place, however, as the result of war. There are numerous traditions of slaughter of Hottentots about the time of Gconde, without the details being known. If the Damaqua tribe was conquered, nothing would be more in accordance with Bantu custom than for the young women to be taken into the families of the conquerors and for the vanquished chief's daughter to become a wife of the third rank in the house of the victorious chief.

Tshiwo was constantly carrying on war or employed in hunting. He died in middle age, when on a hunting excursion in the country far to the westward, and it is not now known where he was buried.

During his government an event took place by which an individual who did not belong to the family of hereditary chiefs was raised to the rank of head of a clan. Among the Bantu it often happens that a man of considerable wealth is accused by a witchfinder of having caused some calamity. In the phraseology of the country such a person is "smelt out." He is allowed no opportunity to defend himself, but is kept quite unconscious of there being a charge against him. A party of executioners is sent, who fall upon the person accused, usually during the night, and kill him and his family. His cattle are taken to the chief, who reserves the greater number for himself, but allows the witchfinder and the executioners a share. In Tshiwo's time a succession of disasters of various kinds was followed by an unusually large number of people being smelt out.

The principal attendant of the chief, who was generally entrusted with the duty of carrying out decisions in these cases, was a man named Kwane. Instead of literally obeying orders, Kwane was in the habit of allowing many of those to escape whom he was sent to destroy, and contenting himself with seizing their cattle. The fugitives took refuge with the Gonaqua tribe of Hottentots, by whom they were kindly received as being outcasts from their own people. On one occasion towards the close of his life, when Tshiwo was sore pressed and greatly in need of reinforcements, Kwane boldly presented himself at the head of a strong band of those whom he had saved, and tendered their services. Tshiwo was so delighted at receiving aid thus opportunely that he appointed Kwane chief, as with hereditary rights, over the former fugitives. By this time these were so mixed in interests and family connections with the Gonaquas that separation was impracticable. A large section of the horde thereupon received Kwane as its chief, and was thenceforth regarded as a Xosa clan. In the time of Cungwa, third in descent from Kwane, we shall find it a formidable enemy of the colony. It had then entirely adopted the Xosa language and customs, and termed itself the Gunukwebe (correct Kaffir: Amagqunukwebe).

Tshiwo's great son Palo was not born until after his father's death. Gwali, Tshiwo's right hand son, was then in the prime of life, and being ambitious he attempted to make away with his brother. A portion of the tribe, however, rallied round the guardians of the infant chief, and Gwali was compelled to flee. With his own adherents and the Tinde clan he crossed the Kei and took refuge with a Hottentot chief named Hintsati, who had gone far inland from the coast and then resided near the site of the present village of Somerset East. Tradition points these out as the first compact bodies of Bantu to cross the Kei. The date was the year 1702. They were the people encountered by the European marauding party mentioned in chapter xxxvii.

Gwali was received in a friendly manner by Hintsati, to whom he gave one of his sisters in marriage. After a long time an army was organised to follow him up. Hintsati's kraal was surrounded in the night, the chief was killed with many of his people, and his cattle were taken. The army at once commenced its return march, but was followed closely by the Hottentots. At the Koonap river it was overtaken, and an indecisive battle was fought. Farther on, at the broad ford of the Keiskama, another engagement took place, and yet another on the Debe flats, where the Hottentots recovered many of their cattle.

About this time the Imidange clan crossed the Kei, and it has remained west of that river ever since.

The left hand son of Tshiwo was named Tiso, and to him a number of people were given, who formed a clan ever since known as the Amambala. Tiso died without issue, when Palo placed his son Langa at the head of the clan. This chief and his people crossed the Kei some time before the year 1740, and never returned.

The great son of Palo was named Gcaleka. The right hand son, Rarabe, (pron. Khàkhàbay), was a man of mature years when the great son attained his majority, and was in intellectual power the higher of the two. War between the brothers followed, and was waged with great bitterness. When the strife commenced, only the section of the tribe that was east of the Kei took part in it. Numbers were on the side of Gcaleka, but skill on that of Rarabe. It was a natural consequence of a civil war of this kind that the weaker of the two combatants should endeavour to remove from the neighbourhood of the other. To the westward stretched a tract of country of unknown extent, and in that direction Rarabe cast his eyes.

With his followers he reached the Kei, at the place now known as the lower drift, and found there a Hottentot army ready to dispute his passage. If half of what Xosa antiquaries relate of the action that followed be true, the Hottentots fought bravely and well. Each side pressed its foremost men against the enemy and compelled them thus to battle to the death. They met in the stream, which was soon so choked with corpses that its water was red with blood. At last, by sheer force of pressure, the Hottentots were driven back, and Rarabe won a footing on the western bank. But this success was so dearly bought that he preferred to negotiate rather than risk another such encounter, and so for a great number of cattle he purchased a tract of country between the head waters of the Keiskama and Buffalo rivers, including the Amatola mountains, from the wife and followers of the chief who had fallen in the struggle. The name of this chieftainess was Hoho, and after her the Pirie forest is still called by the Xosas "the forest of Hoho."

The events of this battle are related with such minuteness by Xosa antiquaries that there must be a foundation for them, but the number that fought on each side cannot have been great. The Xosa tribe at that time was very small compared with what it is now, and the portion that followed Rarabe was only a fraction of the whole. Until a much later date, when his fame was established, he could not bring a large army into the field. What Hottentots they were that opposed him cannot be ascertained, but they were not Gonaquas, and the whole of the remaining hordes, if combined, were of no great strength.

Very shortly after the battle just mentioned Palo himself removed to the western side of the Kei. He first fixed his residence on the Nahoon, but before 1750 he settled in the beautiful Izeli valley, on the head waters of the Buffalo river, where he lived many years.

Before 1750 Gcaleka also crossed the Kei. He resided sometimes on the Kabusi, sometimes on the Kwelegha, and sometimes on the Kwenugha river, during the remainder of his life.

When the Xosas moved over the Kei, the Tembus occupied the country on the eastern bank of that river. Daba was then their paramount chief.

At this time an expedition was sent by the Cape government to explore the country east of the Cape Colony, mainly for the purpose of acquiring information concerning the inhabitants and ascertaining if any articles of commercial value could be obtained from them. This expedition left Capetown on the 29th of February 1752. It was under command of Ensign August Frederik Beutler, and was of sufficient strength to defend itself in case of sudden attack by any barbarians. There were thirty-seven petty officers and soldiers, twenty-five waggon drivers and leaders, a superintendent of the train, a botanist, a blacksmith, and a waggonmaker. The clerk Carel Albrecht Haupt went as journalist, the marine officer Pieter Clement to determine latitudes and distances, the surveyor Carel David Wentzel to make a map, and the surgeon Jan van Ellewee to attend to the sick. They had eleven waggons to transport baggage, stores, presents for Hottentot and Bantu chiefs, and a boat to convey them across flooded rivers. No expedition fitted out on such a scale had ever left the Cape before, except when Commander Simon van der Stel visited the copper mountain in Namaqualand.

By the 31st of March the Gourits river was reached, and while resting there the party was joined by a French sailor in a half-famished condition. He had come from Mauritius in a brig named the *Necessaire*, which was one of three vessels sent to explore the south-eastern coast of Africa and look for a suitable place for a French settlement. At Algoa Bay a boat with an officer and eight men had been sent ashore, when the boat was swamped, and the *Necessaire* sailed away without an attempt to rescue the crew.

For thirty-four days the man who gave this account of himself had been travelling westward, and he did not know what had become of his companions. Ensign Beutler sent him to Swellendam, with a letter to Mr. Jan Andries Horak, who in April 1749 had succeeded Mr. Rhenius as landdrost, requesting that he should be forwarded to the Cape.

On the 2nd of April the farm of Esaias Meyer at Mossel Bay was reached. Here the officer of the French boat met them, and corroborated the account of the sailor in every particular. He could give no information as to the fate of the remainder of the crew, except that he knew one man had died from eating part of a poisonous fish. The ensign directed him to the farm of Ignatius Ferreira, who sent him on to Capetown.

On the 4th of April the Little Brak river was passed, and on the following day the farm of the widow Hasewinkel, the last occupied by Europeans, was reached. On the 7th the expedition came to the foot of a formidable mountain, at the place now called Montagu Pass. It took three days of excessive toil to get the waggons across the mountain, in some places a tackle being used to assist the oxen, in other places the waggons needing to be steadied by ropes held by the soldiers.

Having got safely over this barrier, the expedition found itself in the Longkloof, a narrow valley of great length between two ranges of mountains running nearly parallel to the coast. That section of it had already been named Cannaland by the elephant hunters, on account of the canna plant, which was used by the Hottentots as a purgative, being found there in great abundance. Very little grass was to be seen, but rhenoster bush was plentiful, so that the cattle fared badly.

On the 17th of April they passed the head waters of the Keurbooms river, their chief trouble now being the numerous lions that infested the valley. On the 20th they encamped at the Moordenaar's river, which had received its name from a deserter who had been living with a Hottentot clan being murdered on its bank some years before.

On the 4th of May they came to the end of the Longkloof, and found that the mountain range on their right terminated on the shore of the sea. For some days they had been travelling along a stream which was a branch of the Gamtoos, but they left it before reaching the junction, and proceeded to the beach to examine the curve that bears the name St. Francis Bay. They found it an open roadstead, protected only on the north and west. At the mouth of the Kabeljauw river they set up a beacon with the Company's monogram on it, as a token of possession, and then proceeded onward.

The Gamtoos river was crossed on the 6th of May, and three days later the expedition reached the Galgenbosch. The manner in which names were given to places from the most trivial events was here exemplified. Some elephant hunters had carved their names in the bark of a tree, and a later traveller had cut the figure of a gallows above the signatures, from which circumstance the forest was called the Galgenbosch.

On the 13th of May the expedition encamped at the mouth of the Zwartkops river. The broken boat of the *Necessaire* was lying on the beach, but there was no other trace of European handiwork. The salt pans in the neighbourhood were visited, and the bearings of the shore around Algoa Bay were taken. The ensign regarded the roadstead as too exposed to be of any use for shipping. A beacon, however, was set up at the mouth of the Zwartkops, with the letters V O C (Vereenigde Oost-

Indische Compagnie) upon it, to denote that possession had been taken on behalf of the Company.

On the 16th of May they passed the Sunday river, on the 17th a place called by the Hottentots Koernoe—meaning small forest—but which they named Hoenderkraal on account of the great number of Guinea fowls seen there, and on the 20th they crossed the Bushman's river. Keeping near the sea, on the 2nd of June they passed the Fish river, and on the 5th reached the Keiskama.

So far they had met only Hottentots. The names of the clans are given in the report of the expedition, but they need not be repeated, as they have long since passed into oblivion. From Cannaland to the Keiskama the Hottentots were found in a condition of great poverty, arising partly from depredations by Bushmen, partly from wars with the Xosas, and partly from feuds among themselves. They were very thinly scattered over the country. The Europeans noticed some of the heaps of stones which are still to be seen near the Fish river, and observed that the Hottentots who had joined their train threw green branches of trees upon the cairns as they passed, at the same time muttering some words or phrases. When questioned why they did so, the most intelligent among them replied that the devil had made the cairns, and that in this way they prayed for good luck and a long life. Most of the Gonaquas, who lived between the Fish river and the Keiskama, were still pure Hottentots, but they were all on good terms with the Xosas.

As the Keiskama was considered the boundary between the Bantu and Hottentot tribes, the party was now divided into three watches, one of which was constantly armed and on guard. Two burghers—Andries Arendsdorp and Gerrit van Nimwegen—had joined them, and there was a large number of Hottentots in the train. After crossing the river, several Xosas came to meet them, and with these and some Gonaquas presents were sent on in advance to the paramount chief Palo and to

Bange, head of the Amantinde branch of the Xosa tribe. The Amantinde then occupied the territory from the lower Keiskama to the Tshalumna, and were regarded as a powerful clan. A few of their kraals were on the western bank of the Keiskama.

As the expedition advanced, the country was found to be more thickly peopled. It was the winter season, and the district had been subject to a long and severe drought, still there was ample proof that the inhabitants were agriculturists, for they brought millet, bread made of the same grain, leaf tobacco, and dacha or wild hemp for sale.

The travellers were visited by several petty chiefs or captains, of whom one, whose name is given as Goeary, was regarded as unfriendly. With Bange much intercourse was had. He was a stout man, who wore ornaments made of beads—obtained from elephant hunters—on his head and hanging from his ears, round his neck were pieces of copper strung together on a thong, from which were suspended two pieces of ivory, and his arms were decorated with metal rings. His only clothing was a skin kaross. He complained of having a sore throat, and asked for some medicine, which was given to him. He also wanted a musket, but with that he was not supplied. A few head of cattle were obtained from him in barter, but at a very dear rate, and though large herds were seen, he asserted that he had none to spare.

While they were at Bange's kraals, which were not far from the sea, messengers from Palo arrived to thank them for the present that had been sent to that chief. These people must have been well acquainted with ivory hunters and traders, as they brought an elephant's tusk for sale, and asked an extravagant price for it.

Before the expedition reached the Buffalo river, which was crossed on the 17th of June, all the Hottentots with the train, except a few Gonaquas, deserted through fear of the Xosas.

On the 24th of June the Gonubie river was reached. On the 28th the expedition halted at the kraal of Gcaleka, great son of Palo, who was then residing on the western bank of the Kwenugha, a stream which falls into the sea between the Gonubie and the Kei. The place where Hubner's party had been massacred in 1736 was to the north-east, and at no great distance. Upon being questioned as to the massacre, the Xosas tried to throw the blame upon Hubner's interpreters, who, they said, had caused a misunderstanding. It may have been so; but the declarations of the survivors record an event similar to some of our own day, in which misunderstanding certainly had no part.

After resting a little, the party proceeded due north to the ford of the Kei, which they crossed on the 3rd of July, and on the following day encamped at the Toleni river. Here messengers whom they had sent in advance to a Tembu chief met them and delivered a friendly greeting. To the east of the Kei only Tembus were found, as that river was then the boundary between them and the Xosas.

Five days longer the party marched north-eastward, without making any discovery of note. The oxen were now beginning to die from fatigue and want of food, and the members of the expedition were almost wearied out. Travelling over a broken country, where at every brook a road had to be made, was no easy task. Cattle could not be purchased from the Tembus, who stated also that neither the Pondos who lived beyond them to the eastward nor the Bushmen who occupied the territory to the north had any. The ensign took counsel with the leading men of the party, and all decided that it was advisable to go no farther. On the 10th of July therefore they turned towards home. Crossing the Kei at the same ford which they had used before, they pursued their journey westward along the route now followed by the main waggon road from the bridge to King-Williamstown, passing on the way through several kraals between the upper forks of the Nahoon, whose inhabitants were under a chief named Matsholla.

Palo, the head of the Xosa tribe, was then living near the head waters of the Buffalo river, at the foot of the Amatola mountains. The travellers were desirous of seeing him, but he probably feared meeting a strong body of Europeans, for they were unable to obtain an interview. From the halting place of the expedition some men were sent with a small present to the kraal in which he usually resided, and were received there by one of his sons of minor rank named Coposa, who informed them that the great chief was not at home. On the same day Coposa paid the ensign a visit, and learning that cattle were needed, he returned on the following morning with twenty-two head, which he bartered for articles of no great value. Promises of friendship were made on both sides.

Ensign Beutler estimated the number of the whole Xosa tribe, including the Gonaquas who were closely allied with it, at twelve thousand souls. This is certainly too low, though it is impossible to say by how much with any pretension to accuracy. He thought they could put four thousand warriors in the field, that is one out of every three individuals, men, women, and children, which is very far from a correct proportion.

The partial incorporation of the Gonaqua tribe of Hottentots had a strong tendency to expedite the migration westward of the Xosa tribe. Originally nomads, these people had not yet acquired settled habits, and the Bantu who were intermarried with them also became restless. Ensign Beutler found the great body of these people between the lower Fish and Keiskama rivers, though individuals were scattered among the Xosa kraals all the way to the Kwenugha. Twenty years later, in 1772 and 1773, the botanist Thunberg found parties of them near the Gamtoos river, west of Algoa Bay, some of which were in appearance pure Hottentots and others pure Bantu. They were thus acting as pioneers in a general forward movement.

Ensign Beutler's party noticed that from the eastern side the peak which the elephant hunters called Kaffirland's Berg, because they considered the Xosa country commenced there, could be seen at as great a distance as when approaching in the opposite direction. This is the Intaba-ka-Ndoda—the Mountain of the Man—of the present day.

It was intended, if possible, to cross over to the copper mines in Little Namaqualand, so keeping close to the foot of the mountain chain, the expedition, after leaving the Xosa country, passed the Tshumie, Kat, Koonap, Baviaans', Tarka, and Fish rivers. The only inhabitants of this tract of country were Bushmen, with whom it was impossible to have much intercourse. In the report it is stated that one division of these savages practised polyandry as well as polygamy, but this may be doubted, as there is not sufficient evidence in support of the assertion. The Bushmen along the Fish river—called Little Chinese by the Europeans—were reported to be monogamists. Many rock paintings made by these people were noticed. The country was so parched by a long drought that the cattle were half famished, and large thorn trees were perishing from want of moisture. The ensign had not been able to purchase as many oxen as he needed, so after keeping upward along the bank of the Fish river until the 18th of August without discovering anything of importance, he was compelled to abandon the design of crossing the country to the westward and to turn again towards the sea. For many days nothing more noteworthy occurred than the recovery of a runaway slave of the burgher Willem Landman.

When resting at the farm of Hendrik Blankenberg at the Zoetmelks river, the ensign received a letter from the landdrost of Swellendam, written under instructions from the governor, directing him to search for a bay that was reported to have been found by some hunters on the coast of Outeniqualand. He accordingly sent part of the train on to Capetown, and with a few men on horseback he endeavoured to find a way to the shore. He reached the two lakelets nearest the present village of George, and supposing them to have been mistaken for a bay, he turned back without seeing the Knysna inlet. On the 6th of November he reached the Cape, after an absence of a little over eight months.

In the narrative of this expedition no mention is made of Palo's right hand son Rarabe, and the travellers do not appear even to have heard of him. Yet for a barbarian he was a man of considerable ability and of enterprising character, and just at this period was at the zenith of his greatness. With a section of his people he had moved away to the north, and was then living between the Tsomo and White Kei rivers. There he formed an alliance with the Dungwana clan of Tembus, and with them attacked the paramount Tembu chief Daba, conquered him, and took all his cattle. He thus made himself so famous and respected that the different clans of the Amagwali, Imidange, Amantinde, Amambala, and Gunukwebe in course of time to a limited extent submitted to his authority and adopted his name. The Xosa tribe thus became divided into two branches: the Amararabe and the Amagcaleka, though both acknowledged Palo as their paramount chief.

Some time between the years 1770 and 1775 Rarabe moved again, on this occasion fixing his residence on the site of the present village of Butterworth. His father Palo wished to visit him there, and travelled from the Izeli for that purpose, leaving one of his counsellors in charge of his kraal. On the way he visited Gcaleka near the present village of Komgha. At Tongwane the old chief was seized with pleurisy, and he died there. His grave is near the Springs in the district of Butterworth; and to this day many Xosas will not drink the water of the Tongwane stream, because he was buried on its bank. When the counsellor whom he left at the Izeli died, another was appointed with the title of representative of Palo, and the succession was continued until 1851, when the Xosas were driven from that valley by European forces.*

After the death of his father, Rarabe went to live again between the Buffalo and the Keiskama. Between 1781 and 1785—the date cannot be exactly fixed—he became involved in a dispute with the Kwati and Gcina clans of the Tembu tribe concerning the marriage of one of his daughters. The dispute led to war, the Tembus retired to the north-west, and in a battle, fought on the western bank of the Kei above the junction of the Tsomo, Rarabe fell pierced with an assagai. His grave is in one of the Amabele hills, at the head of the Bolo stream, near Emgwali.

Rarabe's great son, Umlawu by name, died before his father, leaving an infant as his heir. Of the other sons, Ndlambe and Cebo were the most noteworthy. Ndlambe was a full brother of Umlawu, and if the infant son of the latter—Gaika (correct Kaffir spelling Ngqika) by name—had not been born, he would have succeeded as head of the Rarabe branch of the tribe. As it was, the counsellors of his deceased father appointed him regent during the minority of his nephew. Cebo was the right hand son of Rarabe. Several years after this date he died without issue, when Ndlambe placed one of his own sons—Dushane by name—at the head of the clan.

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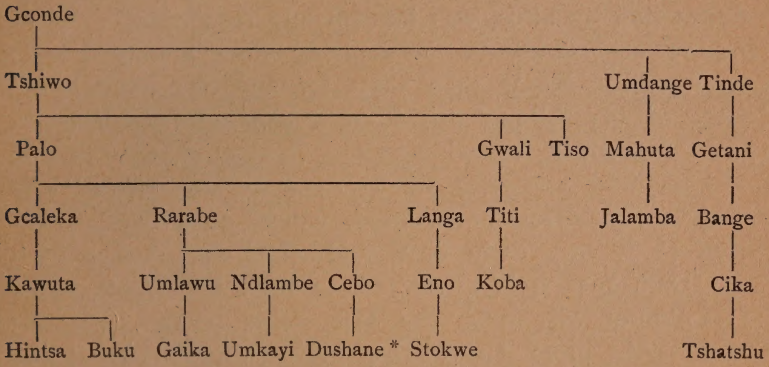
* The late honourable Charles Brownlee, who was recognised in his lifetime as the best informed man in South Africa upon the history of the Xosas, informed me that before the publication of Ensign Beutler's *Journal* he was never able to ascertain why a headman with the title of representative of Palo should have lived so long in the Izeli valley. Then of course the reason was clear. The chief Kreli was regarded as the most learned antiquary of his tribe, and nothing pleased him more than to discuss events of the past. He was good enough to listen patiently to my account of his people as here given, which he confirmed as correct, and added to it information concerning the burial places of his ancestors. Of the origin of the tribe he knew nothing, but was aware that at some not very distant time it came down from the north. I have been out of touch with the Xosas for more than twelve years, but I am told that no one among them now (in 1909) takes any interest in the history of the past, their whole thoughts being turned by force of circumstances in another direction.

Gcaleka died about the year 1790, and was buried on the bank of the Umsuzi, a little stream near the present village of Komgha. Kawuta, his son in the great line, succeeded him as head of the Gcaleka branch and paramount chief of the whole Xosa tribe.

At this time the country between the Kei and Bashee rivers was uninhabited except by Bushmen, the Tembu clans who had lived there having been almost exterminated by an attack of small pox, after which the survivors returned to the district between the Bashee and the Umtata. Kawuta, with the Gcaleka branch of the Xosa tribe, crossed over to the eastern side of the Kei, and went to live in the present districts of Butterworth and Kentani. Kawuta died at an early age about the year 1804, leaving Hintsa, his great son, and Buku, his right hand son, both mere children. His grave is at the Emnyameni, near Kentani hill, in the district of Kentani.

Going back to 1775, the whole Xosa tribe was then living between the Kei and Fish rivers, the Gcaleka branch east of the Buffalo, the Rarabe clans west of that river. The greater part of the Gunukwebe clan, then under the chief Tshaka, son of Kwane, and the Tinde clan, under the chief Cika, occupied the present district of Peddie. The Amagwali clan, under the chief Titi, and the Imidange clan, under the chief Mahuta, had their kraals along the Koonap river. The Amambala clan, under the chief Langa, lived on the Tshumie.

The following genealogical table shows the relationship of the principal Xosa chiefs of this and the next generation. The line of the Amagwali and Imidange is not continued as far as the others, because those clans were broken into fragments, and the heirs in the great line were not the most important heads of divisions. Tiso and Cebo died without issue.


Gconde
Tshiwo
Umdange
Tinde
Palo
Gwali
Tiso
Mahuta
Getani
Gcaleka
Rarabe
Langa
Titi
Jalamba
Bange
Kawuta
Umlawu
Ndlambe
Cebo
Eno
Koba
Cika
Hintsa
Buku
Gaika
Umkayi
Dushane *
Stokwe
Tshatshu

From Bantu antiquaries it is not possible to learn much about the condition of the mass of the people at any time, whether progress was made in knowledge, or whether any useful plant was introduced from abroad. Their whole attention is devoted to the chiefs, and a list of the names of past rulers, with the family ramifications of the governing house, and events affecting each of the heads of clans, constitute the stock of historical information which they are able to impart. The mode of living of commoners is regarded as a subject unworthy of notice.

But by comparing the Portuguese accounts at the beginning of the seventeenth with the Dutch and English accounts at the close of the eighteenth century, it can be ascertained that the Southern Bantu made no progress in knowledge or in morals during the two hundred years between Xosa and Kawuta. The tobacco plant was introduced at an early date, and the maize towards the close

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* Dushane was really the son of Ndlambe, but as Cebo died childless, he was transferred to that house.

of the period, but no other addition to the products of the garden appears to have been made. Both these plants spread very rapidly in South Africa. Tobacco was highly esteemed as soon as strangers made it known, and the advantage of maize over millet, in being less subject to destruction by birds, was immediately recognised.

Improvement must be incalculably slow among people situated as the Xosas then were, for any one mentally in advance of his fellows would to a certainty perish on a charge of dealing in witchcraft. But a change in the disposition and character of the people was effected by the mixture of Hottentot blood, which must have commenced at a very early date, and after the incorporation of the Damaquas quickly spread through the whole tribe. The Hottentot was much the less stable of the two, but he was vastly more imaginative, and his blood quickened the intellect of the stolid Bantu. It gave to the Xosas a lighter colour than that of their brethren farther north, and made them more excitable, though it was not sufficient to weaken their attachment to a strict form of government or to affect their reverence for their hereditary chiefs.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG, FISCAL AND SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR 12TH AUGUST 1771 TO 18TH MAY 1774; GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 18TH MAY 1774, RETIRED 14TH FEBRUARY 1785.

JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG, who was elected by the council to act as head of the government until the pleasure of the directors could be known, had been educated as a lawyer, and had very little experience in any other employment. Before the death of Mr. Tulbagh was known in the Netherlands, the prince of Orange, acting upon the nomination of the directors, appointed the baron Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn secunde, as that gentleman had applied for employment again in South Africa, where some of his children were residing. It was then intended that Mr. Van Plettenberg should resume the duties of fiscal.

Despatches announcing the death of Mr. Tulbagh arrived from the Cape, however, before Baron Van Oudtshoorn could leave Holland, and he then had the office of governor conferred upon him, Mr. Van Plettenberg being at the same time appointed secunde. This information was received at the Cape on the 4th of September 1772.

The newly appointed governor embarked in the ship *Asia,* but was taken ill at sea, and after nineteen days' confinement to his bed, died on the 23rd of January 1773. His body was placed in a leaden coffin which he had taken on board with him, and a few days after the arrival of the ship was buried with state under the pavement of the church. The flagstone which covered the grave was taken up when the building was enlarged, but it was not removed from the grounds, and it is now attached to the eastern wall of the church.

When the death of Van Oudtshoorn was reported, the prince of Orange, upon the nomination of the directors, appointed Mr. Van Plettenberg governor, Mr. Otto Luder Hemmy secunde, and Advocate Willem Cornelis Boers fiscal. The ceremony of installation of the new governor took place on the 18th of May 1774. Mr. Hemmy, who had previously filled the post of chief salesman, took over the duty of secunde some three weeks earlier. Advocate Boers, who was practising at the Hague when he received his appointment, did not arrive in the colony until the 10th of the following December. The office of master of the naval establishment had become vacant in April 1773, and the council had filled it provisionally by detaining here an energetic skipper named Damien Hugo Staring, whose appointment was now confirmed by the supreme authorities.

The eastern boundary of the colony at this time, according to the resolution of the council of policy, was Bruintjes Hoogte and the Gamtoos river; but, in defiance of the prohibition of the 13th of February 1770, Europeans were settled along the high lands as far as the Little Fish river. The first white man who made himself a home on the banks of this stream was an old elephant hunter named Willem Prinsloo, who in June 1771 obtained permission from Governor Tulbagh to select two farms within the colonial limits, but had gone beyond them and occupied the site of the present village of Somerset East. In October 1772 the acting governor Van Plettenberg came to hear that Prinsloo was living beyond the boundary, and instructed the landdrost of Stellenbosch to have him removed; but he managed to evade the summons. Several others soon followed him. These settlers sent a petition that they might be authorised to remain where they were, and, in order to secure the land rents, on the 11th of July 1775 the council of policy decreed the extension of the district of Stellenbosch eastward to the Fish river, and of that of Swellendam to the Bushman's river.

The boundary between the new portions of the two districts was referred for settlement to the combined landdrosts and heemraden, who fixed upon the mountain range corresponding to the Zwartberg and parallel to the coast. The district of Swellendam was thus clearly defined on all sides, but Stellenbosch had no fixed limit on the north. In that direction, the Kamiesberg, the Hantam mountain in the present district of Calvinia, the country about the sources of the Zak river in the Nieuwveld mountains, and the Sneeuwberg had been occupied for several years.

The ground upon which the new hospital was to stand had been prepared before the death of Governor Tulbagh, but the building had not been commenced. It was designed for the accommodation of one thousand four hundred and fifty patients, with quarters for the medical officers and attendants, and spacious storehouses. The foundation stone was laid by Mr. Van Plettenberg on the 2nd of November 1772.

As most of the materials used in the construction of this building were sent from the Netherlands, the directors, in a despatch dated 18th of October 1771, required the council to provide return cargoes of Cape produce for the ships bringing them out, provided produce of good quality could be had at reasonable rates. They complained of the high prices and inferior quality of various samples previously sent home, excepting wheat, and they therefore issued orders that the bulk of the cargoes should consist of that grain.

When these instructions arrived in South Africa, the French were laying in large supplies of meal, wine, and meat for their men-of-war and magazines at Mauritius, and the preceding harvest had not been quite as good as usual, so that prices were ruling high. In 1772 only one ship laden with materials for the Cape arrived, but she was a large one, and brought out reinforcements of troops also. The council found it would not be possible to get a full cargo for her, so they sent her to Batavia for orders, and prepared the Cape packet *Zon*, a vessel of about three hundred tons burden, to take produce to Europe. To obtain even this quantity, it was necessary to prohibit for a time the sale of grain to foreigners for exportation.

This first cargo of Cape produce sent to Holland consisted of two thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven muids of wheat, purchased at 10*s.* 8*d.* a muid after the tithe was paid; thirty-seven muids of rye, purchased at 9*s.* 4*d.* a muid; two hundred and twenty-two muids of barley, purchased at 5*s.* 4*d.* a muid; thirty-two leggers of assorted wines, for which the farmers were paid from £5 8*s.* to £13 8*s.* a legger according to quality; and two thousand four hundred and four kilogrammes of tallow, purchased at 44*s.* the hundred kilogrammes. On arrival at Amsterdam, the wheat was sold at 16*s.* 2*d.* to 16*s.* 6*d.* a muid, and the wine at £11 16*s.* to £48 19*s.* a legger. These profits were so satisfactory to the directors that they resolved to continue the importation of South African produce, especially as the Cape government wrote that purchases would in future be made at much lower rates.

During the period 1st of January 1751 to 31st of December 1771 there were five years of drought, more or less severe, in the corn-growing districts. These years were 1755, 1756, 1763, 1764, and 1771. In 1755 the drought was severe during the early months, and many cattle died of starvation, but after June abundance of rain fell, and the corn crop was a very good one. In 1756 the rain that fell was insufficient for wheat, and only a poor crop was gathered. There was such a quantity in reserve, however, that as much as usual was exported. In 1763 not only was the drought severe, but south-east gales set in early and with such force as partly to destroy what wheat was growing, and a plague of caterpillars followed, so that little or nothing was reaped. There was plenty of grain in reserve, but it was considered prudent only to send one-fourth of the usual quantity to India. In 1765 the drought continued, and there was hardly any harvest. Of the grain which remained in stock, a small quantity was sent to India, but rice was imported to compensate for it. In 1771 the drought was not very severe, though the crop gathered was poor.

During these twenty-one years the average quantity of farm produce exported to India was eleven thousand seven hundred and ninety-one muids of wheat, two hundred and two muids of rye, sixty-eight muids of barley, two hundred and two muids of peas, one hundred and seventy-four muids of beans, and three hundred and forty-six leggers of common wine. In 1754 butter was first exported to India. During the next eighteen years the quantity sent abroad annually averaged ten thousand one hundred and twenty-five kilogrammes. It was usually purchased at the Company's stores at thirteen pence to seventeen pence halfpenny a kilogramme, but occasionally in times of scarcity as much as two shillings and a penny halfpenny a kilogramme was paid for it. A small quantity of dried fruit and a little ivory were also exported to India.

To Europe were sent yearly rather over one hundred leggers of common wine and as much Constantia wine as could be obtained, which was usually not more than fourteen or fifteen leggers. From 1736 to 1761 the price paid by the Company for red Constantia wine was £20 16*s.* 8*d.* and for white Constantia wine £10 8*s.* 4*d.* the legger, the proprietors of the farms into which the original estate was divided being obliged under an old contract to sell at that price. But as they could easily get double those sums from foreigners, they were loud in complaining, and in 1761 an agreement was made with Jacobus van der Spuy, then owner of Great Constantia, that he should deliver to the Company two-thirds of all the red wine made by him at £31 5*s.*, and two-thirds of all the white wine at £15 12*s.* 6*d.** the legger, he to be at liberty to sell the remaining third to whom he chose at the best price which he could obtain. A similar agreement was subsequently made with Lambert Myburgh, owner of little Constantia.

In 1761 the first aloes were exported from South Africa. A quantity of ninety-eight kilogrammes in weight was produced by the old burgher councillor Petrus Johannes de Wit, who lived at the Cape, but who had a farm in the country, and had caused the drug to be prepared there. The council of policy decided to send it to Europe, where it was pronounced to be of good quality. The directors issued instructions to purchase it at the stores at a price not exceeding five shillings and a halfpenny a kilogramme. From that date it has been an article of export to Europe, but the quantity in demand being inconsiderable, it has not been of much advantage to the colony.

The first horses were exported from South Africa in 1769. Six years earlier the horse sickness had been unusually severe, the burghers losing over two thousand five hundred within a few months; but the loss had been made good by breeding, and when some English officers visited the Cape to procure remounts for India, there were plenty to be had, though they were small and not very handsome. On the 25th of December 1769 the *Duke of Kingston* sailed from Table Bay with a shipment for Madras.

From 1772 until the commencement of the war with England, a period of nine years, a quantity of Cape produce was yearly sent to the Netherlands. In 1777 the grain crop was very poor, owing to a severe drought, and after the requirements of the Company in India had been met, no wheat could be spared, but the usual quantity of wine was forwarded. The average exportation to Europe during these nine years, 1772-1780, was fifteen leggers Constantia wine, ninety-three leggers ordinary wines, ten thousand seven hundred and fourteen muids of wheat, ten thousand seven hundred and ninety-five kilogrammes of tallow, and one thousand six hundred and thirty-nine kilogrammes of aloes. Small quantities of brandy, rye, barley, vegetable wax, oxhides, sheepskins, coarse wool, skins of wild animals, and leather were also sent to Europe, but neither regularly nor of sufficient value to need further notice.

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*The agreement was made in rixdollars, at that time current at two and a half gulden of Holland, or four shillings and two pence English money each. In 1770 the supreme authorities issued instructions that the rixdollar was to be valued at 2$\frac{4}{10}$ gulden of Holland, equal to four shillings English money. The prices named must be reduced by four per cent. after that date, for the sellers had to bear the loss in the difference of exchange.

During these nine years the average export to India was fourteen thousand four hundred and nineteen muids of wheat, one hundred and eighty muids of rye, sixty-six muids of barley, thirty-seven muids of beans, one hundred muids of peas, two hundred and ninety-six leggers of wine, six thousand one hundred and seventy-five kilogrammes of butter, five thousand two hundred and forty-one kilogrammes of tallow, and five hundred and thirteen kilogrammes of ivory. Some dried and preserved fruits, mustard seed, peltries, and leather, though not to any great value, were also exported to India.

The increase of exports above those of previous years did not, however, cause increased prosperity to the colonists. The prices paid by the Company were ruinously low. For the wheat sent to India the farmers received only 9*s.* 9½*d.* and for that sent to Europe only 6*s.* 7*d.* a muid, after they had paid the tithe. The butter was bought at 13*d.* to 17½*d.*, and the tallow at about 4½*d.* a kilogramme.

At the same time there was a constant demand for all kinds of farm produce at more than double the prices which the Company was giving. During the twenty-one

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years 1751-1771 there put into Table Bay nine hundred and thirty-eight ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, one hundred and sixty-eight English, one hundred and forty-seven French, thirty-one Danish, thirteen Swedish, four Prussian, one Portuguese, and one Spanish. During the same period one hundred and twenty-nine ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, fourteen English, eleven French, thirteen Danish, and two Swedish put into Simon's Bay. The whole number that touched at the two ports was one thousand four hundred and seventy-two, and the average yearly number was seventy.

The Prussian flag was first seen on a ship in Table Bay in 1755, and the Swedish in 1759. The Spanish ship touched here in 1770. According to the treaties of Münster and Utrecht, the Spaniards were prohibited from sending vessels to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The government therefore refused to allow the captain of this ship, which was a man-of-war, to procure any supplies except water and fuel. The other foreigners obtained whatever they chose to pay for, except when the council thought it necessary to prohibit the sale of such articles as the Company needed and of which the supply was insufficient for all.

In 1772 there was a sudden and great increase in the foreign shipping that put into South African ports, and the number of vessels did not fall off again until the commencement of the war with England. During these nine years, 1772-1780, there put into Table Bay four hundred and eighteen Dutch ships, one hundred and fifty-nine English, one hundred and ninety-two French, forty-one Danish, seven Swedish, sixteen Spanish, nine Portuguese, and three Austrian; and into Simon's Bay forty-seven Dutch, eighty-five English, forty-six French, seventeen Danish, one Austrian, and six Swedish ships; or, on an average, fifty-two Dutch ships and sixty-five under various other flags touched yearly at the two ports.

All of them needed fresh provisions. Some of the French vessels, indeed, were sent here from Mauritius expressly to obtain cargoes of grain, meat, and wine; and occasionally an English vessel arrived from St. Helena for the same purpose. The directors admitted that they should be encouraged to call, as they brought ready money into the country and increased the revenue. Owing to them, the contract for the supply of meat to the Company could now be taken at 1*d.* a kilogramme, for the contractor had the privilege of charging foreigners 4$\frac{2}{5}$*d.* The farmer of the duty of £1 a legger on wine and spirits sold to foreigners for exportation could now afford to pay nearly £1,000 a year for it. The licensed retail dealer in wines and spirits could afford to bid £1,000 a year more for his monopoly. The average production of wine was three thousand two hundred and forty-four leggers, and the Company needed only nine hundred and forty-five leggers for its own use and for sale in Europe and India. The directors were therefore only too glad to know that the surplus could be sold at high rates at the Cape. They protected their own trade, however, for in 1776 when some burghers requested to be allowed to export wine to Holland, they declined to give permission.

With grain it was different. As much of this as could be produced could be sold at a profit, and it therefore became a matter for calculation to get as large a quantity as possible without driving foreigners away. The fiscal took control of the trade, and permitted nothing to be sold to strangers without his leave. The burghers protested against this infringement of their rights, but to no purpose.

The number of male slaves imported was always much larger than that of females, and as a consequence many of those men who were unable to obtain wives of their own colour had formed connections with Hottentot women. A large class of half-breeds had sprung from such unions, and these were generally indisposed to gain a living by honest industry. From early times it was observed that Hottentot women who formed connections with either Europeans or slaves had many more children than those who took husbands of their own race, though the half-breeds did not possess high fertility among themselves. The farmers could not prevent their union with slaves, for if they tried to do so the slaves were certain to run away. And if they permitted the women to remain on the farms, directly or indirectly they were obliged to maintain them and their offspring, without any return in labour.

These circumstances gave rise to a regulation which was first put in force in 1775, and which provided that children born of Hottentot mothers by slave fathers upon attaining the age of eighteen months should be apprenticed to the owner of the farm on which they were living until they were twenty-five years old. In every case a formal application to the board of landdrost and heemraden of the district was to be made by the owner of the farm, and a register of all apprenticeships was to be kept by the secretary of the board. Hottentot mothers were to be at liberty to remove their children under eighteen months of age. The apprentices were to be properly fed and clothed, and were to be otherwise well treated.

It was not always possible to prevent ill usage of either slaves, or apprentices, or Hottentots on the distant frontier, far from the eye of a magistrate; but an honest effort was made to do it. Instances of injuries that came to light were always attended to, and redress was made as public as possible, so that the dependent classes might know where to bring their complaints. Thus in May 1777 two Little Namaqua captains, named Wildschut and Groot Vogel, came to the castle and informed the governor that the half-breed Adam Boer, who was overseer on the farm of a burgher between the Great river and the Copper mountain, was in league with two soldiers out with passes to seek temporary employment, and that these partners employed a gang of Bushman miscreants to steal their cattle. Upon hearing this, the governor at once issued instructions to the landdrost of Stellenbosch to give the Hottentots the protection to which they were entitled, and to cause the half-breed and the two soldiers to appear before his court and answer to the charge.

In February 1776 a despatch was received, announcing that the governor, who was then a baron, had been raised to the dignity of councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India. In January 1777 the secunde Hemmy died. The council met on the 1st of February to elect an acting successor, when the fiscal Boers, to whom the post was offered, declined to accept it. Pieter Hacker, who had long been in the service at the Cape and then filled the situation of master of the winestores, was thereupon chosen, and his appointment as secunde was shortly afterwards confirmed by the directors. He was succeeded as master of the winestores by Jacobus Johannes le Sueur.

In October 1777 the surveyor Hieronymus Leiste was sent to inspect the country as far as it was occupied by Europeans, and to frame a map. He returned in the following January, having made but slight acquaintance with the interior.

In March 1778 a petition was sent to the council by Jan Kruger, Jan Adriaan Venter, Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Jan Oosthuizen, and thirty other heads of families living near the eastern frontier, praying for the establishment of a landdrost's court and a church in that part of the country.

This petition, together with Leiste's report and the numerous accounts of depredations by Bushmen, caused the governor to resolve upon visiting the eastern border, and ascertaining for himself the condition of affairs there. Four months before he intended to set out, orders were issued to the landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam to have burgher escorts and cattle ready to forward him from stage to stage on his journey.

On the 3rd of September 1778 he left Capetown, taking with him the junior merchant Olof Godlieb de Wet as secretary, the surgeon Johan Michiel Seyd as medical attendant, and the lieutenant Christiaan Philip van Heiden as purveyor and conductor of the train. He was accompanied also by Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, previously an officer in the Scotch regiment under Colonel Dundas in the service of the United Provinces, but who had recently been engaged by the East India Company, and had arrived at the Cape on the 1st of June 1777. Captain Gordon was then second in command of the garrison, the chief military officer being Lieutenant-Colonel Van Prehn. Altogether the train, when made up, consisted of seven ox-waggons, besides which there were from two to four others belonging to the burgher escort at different stages of the journey. The governor took also a considerable number of saddle horses for the use of himself and his attendants.

At that time an attempt was being made to construct a road through Dutoit's kloof, to connect Drakenstein with the valley of the Breede river, but it was not yet passable for waggons, so the cavalcade followed the course of the present railway through Roodezand's and Hex River kloofs. The karoo was then entered, which in midsummer presents the appearance of a desolate waste, but which in August and September is not devoid of charms. Patches of flowers of brilliant yellow and snowy white, of purple and mauve and orange are then seen on the brown plain and hill sides, with tufts of bright green shrubs casting the darkest of shadows on the ground. Before the sun turns the surface soil into dust, the air too is so pure and fresh as to be highly exhilarating. This was the condition of the karoo when the governor crossed it. He left a portion of his train and his waggons at a camp below the Sneeuwberg, near the site of the present town of Graaff-Reinet, and with the remainder he crossed the mountain range.

The farmers about the Sneeuwberg were found to be suffering severely from the depredations of Bushmen. Their chief request was to be provided with a landdrost and a clergyman, as owing to the unbridged rivers it was often a journey of a month to the village of Stellenbosch. Practically, they said, they were cut off from a court of justice, and as for the same reason they were unable to attend the church services at Roodezand, their children were growing up without proper instruction. It was also a matter of great hardship to be obliged to take part in the militia exercises at Stellenbosch, because during their absence from home their families and herds were unprotected.* They offered to contribute liberally towards the expense of erecting the buildings needed by a landdrost and a clergyman, if their request was complied with.

Here were seen the skeletons of about three thousand sheep that had perished in a storm in the middle of August, when for five days together snow a foot in depth lay on the ground.

From the Sneeuwberg the party proceeded northward nearly to the site of the present village of Colesberg. A hundred and eighty-three metres from the bank of a stream which was named the Plettenberg's river, but which is now called the Zeekoe, on the 4th of October a stone beacon, with the honourable Company's monogram, the governor's name and arms, and the year 1778 engraved on it, was set up to mark the farthest point reached and the north-eastern limit of the colony. North-north-west rose a dome in the Gordon mountains, which was named the Mosque, owing to its resemblance to the roof of a Turkish place of worship. The river on which they were en-

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*Since 1711 a fine of £2 1*s.* 8*d.* was imposed on every absentee from the yearly drill at the seat of magistracy of the district in which a burgher lived, unless sufficient cause could be shown for not appearing. A plea of living at a great distance was not accepted as sufficient reason. To evade the drill and the fine, excuses were made which could not always bear investigation, so that the system had a demoralising effect upon the character of the people.

camped is a tributary of the Orange. In it in a single day twenty hippopotami were killed by the party.

From this point the governor returned to the camp below the Sneeuwberg, and then proceeded to the farm of Willem Prinsloo on the Little Fish river, the site of the present village of Somerset East. Along the route game of various kinds was exceedingly plentiful, and on some rocks paintings made by Bushmen were observed.

Immediately after arrival at Prinsloo's Captain Gordon set out for a Xosa kraal a little farther down the river, and in a couple of hours returned with Koba, son of the old chief Titi of the Amagwali clan, and twenty-eight of his followers. They were entertained with arrack and tobacco, and returned the favour by a dance in honour of the governor. Forming themselves in four rows, one began to chant, when the others joined in a chorus, and all stamped upon the ground and quivered their bodies in perfect time.

At a little kraal close by the party noticed that the intonjane ceremony was being observed. A burgher named Jacob Joubert had been sent forward on horseback with interpreters to convey presents and a friendly message to the chief Rarabe, who was then living on the Keiskama, but after proceeding some distance he fancied he saw hostile indications on the part of the Xosas, so he returned by night on foot to the camp at Prinsloo's farm.

Here the governor met the farmers of the eastern frontier, several of whom were residing close to the right bank of the Great Fish river. They made the same request as those of the Sneeuwberg, and their grievances were identical, if Xosas be substituted for Bushmen. The governor admitted that their request was reasonable, and promised to recommend it favourably to the directors, a promise which was fulfilled upon his return to Capetown, though it was not immediately attended to in Holland.

The Xosas, who were addicted to lifting the stock of the European graziers, had only recently moved so far westward. They were the advance parties of different clans—mainly the Amagwali,—and there was not a single chief of any note among them. The most important man of them all was Koba, whose father, the old chief Titi, was then living on the Koonap. A few families had crossed the Great Fish river, and were moving about in the territory to the westward, but the whole number within a day's journey of that stream on either side was still very small.

Koba and another petty captain named Godisa promised the governor to respect the Great Fish river as a boundary between themselves and the white people, and to recall their followers who were on the western side as soon as the crops which those people had planted were gathered. Some articles of trifling value were given to them, and to Koba was confided a present for Rarabe.

After a stay of forty-eight hours at Prinsloo's the party left, and for two days travelled down along the stream. Then Captain Gordon turned to the north-west to inspect the country in that direction, and the governor directed his course towards the south and west. At the Bushman's river a petty Xosa captain named Jamosi was met. He promised to return at once to the country from which he had come, and was thereupon gratified with a trifling gift. Here two messengers from Rarabe overtook the governor, and delivered the chief's thanks for the presents sent to him through Koba's agency. They were informed of the arrangement as to a boundary agreed to by Koba, Godisa, and Jamosi, and were directed to make Rarabe acquainted with it. Between the Bushman's and Sunday rivers some half-breed Xosa-Hottentots of the Gunukwebe clan were seen, a sufficient proof that the Bantu were advancing as rapidly in one direction as the Europeans were in the other.

The governor inspected Algoa Bay, and continuing his route westward passed the Gamtoos, reaching a little farther on the first good farm-house he had seen since leaving the Hex river. It belonged to the burgher Jacob Kock. From it he proceeded through the Longkloof to the point where a waggon track over the Duivelskop led to the Knysna. Here seven waggons were sent on to wait at the nearest of the Company's posts, and with three others the governor crossed the mountain range to the belt along the sea. His route took him past Buffels Vermaak and the Knysna inlet. The farm Melkhoutkraal, in one of the most charming situations in South Africa, was then occupied by the burgher Stephanus Terblans. The track—it could not be termed a road—led over it and through the poort some distance beyond to a bay that had recently been inspected by the officers of the hooker *Catwyk aan Rhyn.*

On the 6th of November the governor arrived on the shore of this bay, which had previously been known by several names. A stone pillar, prepared in Capetown, and having engraved upon it the arms of the United Provinces, the monogram of the East India Company, the arms of the governor, and a suitable inscription, was conveyed to its destination on the waggon of Jacob Joubert, and was placed in the position which it has occupied ever since.* The sheet of water was then officially named Plettenberg's Bay, by which designation it is still known.

On the 7th of November the cavalcade turned back, and passing again through the poort, over Melkhoutkraal and Buffels Vermaak, continued along by the lakelets and the seashore, crossed the Zwart river, and at the site of the present village of George emerged from a track that no vehicle but a South African bullock waggon could have traversed. From that point the route led by a well beaten road past Mossel Bay, Swellendam, and over the Hottentots-Holland mountains to Capetown, where the party arrived in safety on the 26th of November.

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* By order of the government this pillar has recently been enclosed with a stone wall, in order to insure its preservation. It is seven feet or 2·13 metres in height, and consists of two slabs of blue slate, each about thirty centimetres by twelve and a half, bolted together with lead. The inscription on it is: Deese steen is opgeregt door Mr. Joachim baron van Plettenberg, Raad van Nederlandsch Indien en Gouverneur aan Cabo de Goede Hoop en den Ressorte van dien, &c. Anno 1778.

Captain Gordon, who accompanied the governor to the Fish river on this occasion, was the foremost South African traveller of the day. In October 1777 he left Capetown in company with Lieutenant William Paterson, an English traveller, on a journey of exploration, and proceeded by way of the Sneeuwberg to the Great river, which he came upon quite unexpectedly somewhere near the twenty-sixth meridian from Greenwich. He travelled for a day along its southern bank in search of a ford, but did not find one, so was unable to cross. From the summit of a hill he observed that the river was formed by the junction of two streams, at no great distance to the eastward. Lieutenant Paterson had returned to the Cape, in ill health, some time before.

Two years later the same gentlemen made another journey together, this time travelling northward through Little Namaqualand to the mouth of the Great river. Captain Gordon had taken a boat with him, which he placed on the stream, so that he had now a much better opportunity for examining the immense flow of water than in 1777, when he had seen it at a point inland nearly six hundred English miles or nine hundred and sixty kilometres distant. On the 17th of August 1779 he hoisted the Dutch colours to a staff in his boat, and while floating in the centre of the stream he named it the Orange, in honour of the stadtholder. He and Lieutenant Paterson examined it from the mouth upward some fifty or sixty kilometres. Since that date geographers have usually called the river by the name which Captain Gordon gave it, but the colonists term it indiscriminately the Orange, Great, and Gariep.

In 1779 the jurisdiction of the courts of landdrost and heemraden was enlarged, owing to the difficulty of bringing cases from distant parts for trial before the court of justice in Capetown. Henceforth civil cases in which the amount in dispute was less than £10 were summarily decided in these courts.

Governor Van Plettenberg had arranged with some petty Xosa captains that the Fish river should be a boundary between the Europeans and the Bantu, but this agreement had not been officially recorded. On the 14th of November 1780, however, the council of policy ratified it by resolving that the Fish river along the whole of its lower course should be the colonial boundary, thus adding to the Company's possessions the tract of country then usually known as the Zuurveld, now the districts of Albany and Bathurst.

In 1780 the Cango caverns, in the present district of Oudtshoorn, were accidentally discovered by a farmer named Van Zyl, who was out hunting. They are of great size, passages having been explored for at least a kilometre and a half into the mountain, without the end being reached, while on each side openings of unknown depth occur at short intervals. The stalactites in some of the chambers present a very grand appearance when seen by the light of numerous torches. Being saturated with water, they are semi-transparent and of dazzling brightness, while they present innumerable varieties of fanciful and grotesque forms. One of the chambers is two hundred and forty-four metres in length, another one hundred and eighty-three metres in length, thirty and a half in breadth, and eighteen to twenty in height.

Ever since the accession of Mr. Van Plettenberg to power there had been a feeling of discontent throughout the colony. There was no sympathy between the governor and the people. If his proclamations be compared with those of his predecessor, and judgment be formed by them alone, the administration of Mr. Tulbagh will be pronounced the harsher of the two. Yet in reality not only was the reverse the case, but a period of misrule had succeeded a period of tranquillity. Governor Tulbagh had kept a watchful eye upon every official, and allowed no one to overstep the directions concerning farming and trading, or to take a fee that he was not entitled to. Governor Van Plettenberg permitted his subordinates to do almost as they chose. The result was a condition of affairs in which no transaction with government could be carried on without bribery, in which many of the officials farmed and traded openly, and the colonists generally became discontented.

From the earliest days of the settlement the government had claimed and exercised the right of sending out of the country persons of bad character, especially those of idle and dissolute habits. During the forty years from 1738 to 1778 thirty-three individuals were thus deported, without a trial before a court of justice. In some instances the burgher councillors or the heemraden requested that a vagabond of some kind should be removed, in other instances notorious offenders were thus summarily disposed of. Governor Tulbagh, during the twenty years that he was head of the colony, had sent away ten. Governor Van Plettenberg in less than eight years sent away eighteen.

The fiscal was detested as few men in South Africa have been, and instead of being a check upon the governor, he was held to be the worse of the two. His control of trade with foreigners opened a door to extensive bribery. The system of paying higher prices at the Company's stores for produce sent to India than for that sent to Europe led also to serious abuses.

The American revolution had commenced, and tidings came over the sea of other colonists resisting rulers who oppressed them. In distant farm-houses and in dwellings in Capetown the question of rights and liberties was discussed as it had never been before. By some of the least educated very wild views were enunciated, views subversive of all government; but the great majority of the people favoured a strong administration, provided it was honest. Party feeling began to run very high. The junior officials were mostly either colonists by birth or married into colonial families, so that the existing system had its defenders. There was a large party loyal to the Netherlands, but desirous of a change from a bad to a good government, and there was a small party ready to plunge into anarchy, without understanding what they were advocating.

Matters were in this state when the fiercest passions of the burghers were roused by an act of the government as imprudent as it was tyrannical. A man named Carel Hendrik Buitendag, who had been living in the land of Waveren, had recently come to reside in the town. This man was addicted to intemperance, and when partly intoxicated was very violent in his conduct. He was married into a respectable colonial family, but his treatment of his wife and of his Hottentot servants was at times so brutal that when he was residing at Waveren the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein petitioned the council of policy for his forcible removal. No action followed this petition, nor was any immediate notice taken of an application to the fiscal by his wife to be separated from him, made during one of his outbursts of intemperance.

Twenty days later, however,—20th of January 1779,—when he was conducting himself properly and the domestic quarrel had been forgotten, he was seized in his own house by order of the fiscal, dragged hurriedly through the streets by the lowest menials of the law, and sent on board the *Honkoop*, a vessel lying in the bay and bound to Batavia. His wife and children followed to the beach, crying and imploring help, but there was not time to effect a rescue. The persons employed by the fiscal to arrest Buitendag and convey him to the ship's boat were the black scavengers of the town, who were used to take drunken slaves to prison. Hardly any act of oppression could have wounded the burghers so deeply as this, for pride of race was part of their nature.

On his arrival at Batavia, Buitendag complained of his treatment to the council of India, by whom permission was given him to return to the Cape. He therefore embarked in the first ship that left, but died during the passage.

The deportation of Buitendag in the manner here related brought on a crisis. The most respectable burghers living within a day's journey of Capetown consulted together, and came to a determination to send delegates to the Netherlands to endeavour to obtain from the stadtholder and the directors redress of their grievances and guarantees against future misgovernment. Then for the first time in the history of the colony was discussed the right of the people to have representatives in the legislature, and the theory rapidly gained ground that such representation would prove the best safeguard of liberty.

At the sitting of the council of policy on the 30th of March 1779 a letter was read from the three burgher councillors, Cornelis van der Poel, Christiaan George Maasdorp, and Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, and four of the heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Philip Albert Myburgh, Jan de Villiers, Joost Rynhard van As, and Hendrik Louw, stating that they had been requested by between three and four hundred burghers to apply for permission to elect some persons to be sent to Holland to lay before the directors the condition of affairs in the colony, and asking leave to do so. The council refused its consent, but asserted its willingness to consider any complaints made to it and to redress any grievances that could be shown to exist.

The opponents of the government were not satisfied with this decision, because they had no confidence in the men who were at the head of affairs. They made no further applications to the council therefore, but elected the burghers Jacobus van Reenen, Barend Jacob Artois, Tieleman Roos, and Nicolaas Godfried Heyns as their representatives to proceed to Europe. These persons drew up a memorial of grievances and proposed remedies, which received the approval of their constituents. It was dated the 7th of May 1779. The four delegates then proceeded to Holland, carrying with them a document authorising them to act for the persons who signed it, four hundred and four in number. The memorial contained thirty-seven clauses. The first part was devoted to accusing the officers of government, and particularly the independent fiscal Willem Cornelis Boers, of fraudulent conduct and oppression. Many of the junior officials were accused of trading so openly that shops were kept and accounts made out in their names. The burghers of the town who lived by commerce, it was asserted, could not compete with these traders, and were consequently being ruined. The whole system of exacting fees by the various officials on almost every business transaction was explained, and the individuals receiving them were charged with corruption. But in this the complainants laboured under the same difficulties that those must always do who are ignorant of the confidential instructions of the heads of a government to subordinates. They supposed that the receipt of fees except in certain well-known cases was unauthorised, whereas in reality the various officials were empowered to charge certain amounts, and could in justice only be accused of corruption when these amounts were exceeded.

The complainants asked that the orders issued in 1706 prohibiting officials from farming or dealing in farm produce should be strictly enforced; that the burghers should be allowed to dispose of the produce of the country to strangers, without first obtaining the consent of the fiscal; that persons banished from the colony should be sent to the fatherland, not to India; that the burghers should be at liberty to punish their slaves without the necessity of first applying to the fiscal; that the laws of the country should be clearly defined and made known; that seven burgher members should have seats in the council of policy, and that these members should send a report upon the colony yearly to the assembly of seventeen; that the high court of justice should consist of equal numbers of officials and burghers;* that there should be a right of appeal to the supreme court of justice in the fatherland, instead of to the court at Batavia; that the burghers should be allowed to trade with the Netherlands to the extent of one or two ships' cargoes yearly; that they should also be allowed free trade with India and in slaves with Madagascar and the east coast of Africa; that the Company should purchase ordinary wine at £8 a legger, from which nothing should be deducted but 12*s.* government dues; that foreigners should not be allowed to travel about the country; that a smaller rental than £4 16*s.* should be charged on farms of inferior quality; and that more churches should be provided.

On the 16th of October 1779 the four delegates appeared before the assembly of seventeen. They made a verbal statement of the wretched condition of the colony and the unjust acts of the officials, and delivered the memorial with a large number of documents supporting it. But the time was not opportune for the redress of grievances, as the condition of things in the fatherland was very different from what it had been when charges of misgovernment were made against Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel. Then the East India Company dreaded attack by opponents in the national legislature, now there was no fear of any strong or influential body of men seeking its destruction, as all parties were interested in its welfare. The directors, however, were desirous of doing what they considered right, so in the following week the whole of the papers were referred to a committee of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland to examine, collect evidence, and report upon. A copy of the memorial and its annexures was sent to the Cape for the various officers concerned to reply to. The directors at the same time wrote expressing great regret that there should be an ill feeling between the colonists and the officials, and hoping that tranquillity would be speedily restored. They stated that they desired the prosperity of the colonists, and commanded that everything that was possible should be done to allay strife. They would be greatly displeased, they said, if any resentment were shown, directly or indirectly, towards those who had signed the memorial.

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* This court still sat in the castle, but in 1781 it was provided with a building expressly erected for the purpose in the town. The sentences, however, continued to be pronounced from the balcony of the castle.

Governor Van Plettenberg's reply is dated the 21st of March 1781. He did not think the memorial could be taken to represent the views of the whole body of colonists, as there were nearly three thousand burghers in the country, and the delegates had been chosen by only four hundred and four. It had always been a custom for the government to consult the acting and retired burgher councillors whenever it was requisite to make regulations affecting the colonists, and he had not failed on any occasion to do so. The country presented every appearance of prosperity. There was no difference observable between wealthy and poor people, all showed signs of being in comfortable circumstances. Every year numbers of the Company's servants, who had the condition of affairs before their eyes, were taking their discharge and becoming colonists, in preference to returning to Europe.

On the frontiers, he stated, the people were less fortunately placed, for they were exposed to depredations from Bushmen and Xosas, and had suffered greatly by recent inroads of the savages. With them money was not plentiful, but following the example of Mr. Tulbagh and others of his predecessors, he had usually taken three young bullocks instead of the £4 16*s.* yearly rent for each of their farms.

The colonists in general, he affirmed, desired to lead an indolent life, merely directing the labour of Hottentots and slaves. They were not disposed to qualify themselves either as mechanics or as schoolmasters, in proof of which there were then nearly two hundred of the Company's soldiers on leave earning their living in these capacities; and more had been applied for, but he had refused to allow a larger number to be temporarily released from duty. The colony furnished no seamen, though many of those who complained of poverty could obtain a living in the fleets. They preferred, however, to depend upon a single industry, the chief profits from which were precarious, being derived from foreign ships. Their right to trade in the products of the country was undisputed. The interests of the officials and the burghers were the same, for with few exceptions they were intermarried, most of the junior officials indeed being members of colonial families.

He objected to the admission of burgher members to the council of policy. The interests of the colony should not be lost sight of by the government, but those of the Company were to be regarded as of greater importance. If there were burgher members in the council, everything that the government did for the colonists would be attributed to them, and the Company would lose favour. There would also be constant strife, owing to the divisions among the population. The request of the complainants that the high court of justice should consist of equal numbers of officials and burghers he recommended should be acceded to. He also favoured their petition that the laws should be clearly defined, and stated that the collection of the placaats for that purpose had already been commenced.

He protested that he had done nothing to draw upon himself the enmity of the colonists. He thought the standing of high officials would be greatly improved if the suspicion of corrupt dealing were removed by giving them suitable salaries and depriving them of perquisites. The principal perquisite of the governor and the secunde was £1 6*s.* 8*d.* for the former and 13*s.* 4*d.* for the latter on every legger of wine sold by the burghers to the Company. The seller was obliged to sign a receipt for £8, whereas he only received £5 8*s.*, the remaining 12*s.* being the government duty. It would make no difference to the Company, and be much better in appearance, if a receipt for only £5 8*s.* were demanded. The other perquisites of the governor he thought there could be no objection to. They were, first, the produce of the farm Visser's Hok, which farm had from early times been cultivated at the Company's expense for the express purpose of supplying the governor's household with grain and his stable with forage; second, the contractor for meat was required to supply him with twelve sheep monthly and such other meat as he might require for his household at the same price as was paid by the Company.

In conclusion, he requested to be relieved of his duties. Party feeling was running very high in the colony, he said, and only an entire stranger could restore concord.

The document containing the comments of the fiscal upon the memorial of the complaining burghers is dated 2nd of February 1781, and is of great length. Mr. Boers was a man with many good qualities. He was hospitable, generous, diligent in his duties, fond of scientific pursuits. But his sympathies were all with the ruling classes of society, and he felt and expressed supreme contempt for the colonists, who were to him simply unlettered peasants.

For more than a century the burgher councillors had been consulted by the government whenever enactments affecting the colonists were in contemplation. They had not indeed a written constitution granted by the supreme authorities, nor did they form a board with regular times of meeting and with a recognised staff of officers to carry out their instructions. Neither had they taxing powers, though upon their recommendation the council of policy levied rates which they collected and applied to the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, the incidental expenses of the night watch, and other purposes now provided for by divisional and municipal councils. They proposed maximum prices for articles, inspected weights and measures, and performed a great variety of other duties. In numberless instances they had appeared before the authorities as the representatives of the burgher community. Yet Mr. Boers maintained that their sole legal functions were those of assistant members of the high court of justice when cases in which colonists were concerned were being tried, and in support of his contention he quoted the terms of the appointment of the first burgher councillor by the commissioner Van Goens in 1657. Long usage did not affect the question in his eyes.

He admitted that the right of the farmers to free trade in the produce of their land had been recognised by the supreme authorities. But he pleaded that the circumstances of the country were such that the channel in which the trade should flow must be pointed out by the government. The farmers here, he said, were like those in Europe, always eager to make large profits, and were unwilling to sell to the Company when they could get higher prices from foreigners. If no restraint were put upon them, the country might often be in danger of famine, and the consequences might be very serious, for food could not be imported in time to avert starvation. On this account it had been found necessary on more than one occasion to prohibit for a time the sale of grain and cattle to foreigners. The governors De Chavonnes and Tulbagh had been obliged to do so. For this reason, and also to collect the export duty of £1 and the licensed dealer's dues of £1 on every legger of wine and his own fee of 2*s.* 11¼*d.* on every hundred kilogrammes of grain or meal supplied to foreigners, he had prohibited the sale of anything without his permission. The burghers talked about the law of free trade in the productions of their land, he begged to state that there was also a law prohibiting foreigners from selling anything at the Cape, yet it was never observed.

The colonists prated of their rights. Who were these colonists? he asked. A body of people who had been released from the Company's employment, and permitted as an act of grace to live in the country, under condition that they could be ordered back into service at the will of the government. He quoted the wording of a certificate of permission to a discharged soldier to reside in the country, and argued that as no one could transmit greater rights than he himself possessed, the descendants of released soldiers were in the same condition as their ancestors. He quite ignored the fact that a large proportion of the colonists were descendants of immigrants who had never been in the Company's service.

A document of great length was drawn up by Mr. Boers in this strain. The other officials who were accused of wrong-doing also drew up statements, admitting some of the charges, denying some, and endeavouring to explain away the remainder. The transmission of these papers to the Netherlands was delayed, however, for several months by the cessation of the ordinary traffic.

CHAPTER XLIX.

JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG, GOVERNOR, (*continued*).

ON the 31st of March 1781 the French frigate *Silphide* arrived in Table Bay with a despatch from the Dutch ambassador at Paris, announcing that on the 20th of the preceding December Great Britain had declared war with the United Provinces, and that the States were in alliance with France. The intelligence was received with alarm by the government, for the mother country no longer occupied the proud position among nations which was hers a century earlier, and it was believed that England was casting longing eyes upon the Cape, as the key of the Indian seas.

The colony was almost defenceless. Its revenue was between £15,000 and £16,000 a year. For a long time the balance of expenditure over revenue had averaged £25,000 a year, and the Company, which was declining in wealth and power, could not afford to maintain a large garrison. There were five hundred and thirty soldiers of all arms on the books, but to save expense, more than one-fourth of these had been allowed to take service with farmers, and it was pretty certain that many would never return to their colours. There were further some six hundred and fifty individuals in the Company's pay, including the civil servants, the mechanics at the workshops, the boating establishment, and convalescent sailors. Next there was a corps of free blacks, which had been in existence for many years, and which was usually drilled for a few days in the month of October. From these sources combined about eleven hundred combatants could be counted upon, of whom only one half were well drilled.

At the head of the military forces proper was Captain Gordon, who in February 1780 had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Van Prehn as commandant of the garrison. He was a man of unblemished character, an enthusiast in the study of natural history, and an ardent explorer, but with no special qualifications as a leader in war. Next to him in rank was Captain Carel Matthys Willem de Lille, who arrived in the colony from Bengal in February 1771. The seamen and mechanics were under command of the old skipper Staring, as brave a man as ever sailed the sea, but so deeply implicated in the prevailing peculations that he was greatly disliked by the colonists.

The Company relied chiefly upon the burghers to protect the country, but the South African militia, though nearly three thousand strong on paper, could not furnish a fourth of that number of men for the defence of Capetown. These three thousand burghers were scattered over an immense area, as large as that of England, Wales, and Scotland combined. Along the frontier, east and north, they were constantly in arms to hold their own against Xosas and Bushmen, to whom their flocks and herds presented an irresistible temptation to plunder.

The struggle between the farmers along the northern border and the Bushmen had become almost incessant. The two races could not live side by side. Occasionally white men, obliged to defend themselves without aid of soldiers or police, committed acts almost equalling in cruelty those of their savage opponents. Yet without violence the country could not be held. All the philanthropic efforts of the nineteenth century, supported by a strong police, failed to establish a single Bushman community in a civilised mode of life.

The method of conducting warfare against these savages did not need a knowledge of complicated military movements. There were probably many contests between farmers and Bushmen of which the government never heard. Those that are recorded, however, give very plain pictures of what was taking place.

In May 1772 a letter was received from the landdrost of Stellenbosch, giving information that a party of Bushmen on the border of the Roggeveld had murdered a burgher named Hendrik Teutman, his wife and daughter, and a servant of Adriaan Louw; and that they had driven off the cattle from several farms. The field corporal Willem van Wyk raised a commando, followed the marauders to a mountain, and besieged a cave in which they took shelter, but was unable to get possession of it. He then wrote to the landdrost for help. The council of policy resolved to send a corporal and five grenadiers, with a supply of hand grenades, to aid him. A party of Hottentots was also engaged to assist, and upon the arrival of these reinforcements the cave was stormed. Six Bushmen were killed, and fifty-eight of both sexes, great and small, were captured. The prisoners were forwarded under escort to the Cape, where they arrived on the 27th of June. After some delay the men were brought to trial before the high court of justice, and on the 31st of December sentence was passed. One was broken alive on a wheel; one was hanged; four were flogged, had the tendons of their heels severed, and were kept to hard labour for life; and three were flogged and kept to hard labour for life. The women and children were distributed as servants for periods varying in duration.

In October of the same year the landdrost of Stellenbosch reported that a party of Bushmen had stolen eighty-eight head of cattle from the burgher Gerrit van Wyk. Thereupon a commando assembled, followed up the robbers, shot thirty-one of them, and recovered thirty-nine of the cattle.

Despite of such punishment, the Bushmen seemed to become constantly bolder, and at length they did not fear to attack farm-houses in open day. Horned cattle, sheep, and goats were driven off in hundreds together, the herdsmen were murdered, and from several localities the Europeans were obliged to retire. In May 1774 the council of policy approved of the appointment by the board of militia of Stellenbosch of Godieb Rudolph Opperman, a burgher of long experience and recognised ability, as field commandant of the whole northern border from Piketberg to Sneeuwberg, and operations were planned with a view of punishing the marauders and restoring the farmers to the places from which they had been driven.

The right of the aborigines to endeavour by every means in their power to retain possession of the territory that had been their ancestors' from remote times was utterly ignored, and indeed it was not possible that it could be respected. It was simply a question: shall the country remain in the occupation of savages in the palæolithic stage and without peaceful intercourse with other human beings, or shall it become the home of civilised men having a place in the brotherhood of nations? In this view of the matter, the Bushmen were regarded as marauders, and were constantly so termed. From their point of view, if they could have given expression to their feelings, the Europeans would unquestionably have been considered the marauders and they as patriots defending their country.

The Hottentots and half-breeds were just as anxious as the colonists to chastise the Bushmen, for they had suffered equally from the attacks of these wild people. The Hottentots indeed were more embittered than the others, for many of them had lost all their cattle and had besides to lament friends and relatives put to death by torture. Some of the Hottentots were living in reserves, under captains recognised by the Cape government, and were not subject to colonial courts of law except in cases affecting white people. The tract of land called Lilyfontein, in the Kamiesberg, where an important Wesleyan mission was founded in the early years of the nineteenth century, for instance, was a reserve secured to the Hottentot captain Wildschut and his people by Governor Van Plettenberg in 1772. Others of this race were living with the colonists, either in charge of herds of cattle or as domestic servants. As many as were needed joined the burghers on the expedition against the common enemy, and were provided with firearms and ammunition.

At the beginning of summer three parties of mixed burghers, half-breeds, and Hottentots, acting in concert, took the field under Commandant Opperman and the field corporals Nicolaas van der Merwe and Gerrit van Wyk. The base of operations was more than four hundred and eighty kilometres in length. The country along the great mountain range of South Africa was scoured, and all the Bushmen found who would not surrender were shot. According to the reports furnished to the government, five hundred and three were killed and two hundred and thirty-nine taken prisoners. Some of these were afterwards released, and others were apprenticed to the farmers for a term of years. Only one European was killed during the operations. From the leader of a small party of Bushmen a promise was obtained to keep the peace and desist from robbery, and to him presents were made as proofs of a desire for friendship. The instance, however, was a solitary one.

It was hoped that the punishment inflicted by the expedition would deter the Bushmen from continuing hostilities, but it had no such effect. They became even more troublesome than before, and year after year it was necessary to call out commandos against them. Thus it often happened that the farmers were unable to attend the musters for drill, which took place at the drostdies yearly in October. They had come to regard these musters as vexatious taxes upon their time, and military drill as useless in their circumstances. The men of the northern border considered their first duty to be the protection of their families against savages, and hardly gave a thought to the Company's interests at the remote seat of government.

On the eastern border matters were in a similar condition. The colonists there had to deal with the advanced clans of the Xosa tribe, a people who might be called civilised when compared with Bushmen, but who were almost as expert stocklifters.

In 1779 a quarrel arose among the Xosa clans, whereupon the Gunukwebes under the chief Tshaka entered the colony and took shelter behind the Bushman's river. They were followed by the Imidange under the chiefs Mahuta and Jalamba, the Amambala under the chief Langa, the Amagwali under the chiefs Titi and Koba, and the Amantinde under the chief Cika, who crossed the Fish river and spread themselves over the present districts of Somerset East and Albany. Some persons asserted that the Europeans had provoked the Xosas to invade the colony. There was a story in circulation that old Willem Prinsloo, of the Boschberg, had exasperated the Imidange by shooting one of them whom he caught in the act of stealing a sheep, and by seizing some of their cattle to make good his losses. There was another story that Marthinus Prinsloo, a son of the former, had gone across the Keiskama with a party trading for cattle in defiance of the prohibitions of the government, and had there in a quarrel killed one of Rarabe's immediate retainers. It was stated also that the petty chief Koba, who was one of those that agreed to the Fish river being the boundary, having crossed cver to the colonial side, was driven back again by the graziers with unnecessary violence. It is impossible now to say whether these reports were true or not. They were put in circulation by men who were certainly biassed in favour of the Kaffirs, and the explanations of the Prinsloos, if any were ever given, are not to be found.

The official reports were to the effect that the clans who crossed the Fish river said they did not want to quarrel with the Europeans, and to prove the truth of their assertions, they murdered a number of Hottentots and took their cattle, without molesting the colonists. But shortly they began to drive off the herds of the white people also, and on the 27th of September 1779 the field corporal Jan Hermanus Potgieter sent a report that the farmers of the Zuurveld or the present districts of Albany and Bathurst, together with those along the right bank of the Bushman's river, had been obliged to withdraw to a place of greater safety.

The same tactics that were practised by the Xosas in every subsequent struggle with the colony were used in this, the first Kaffir war. Rarabe sent a message to the nearest European outpost, to the effect that the clans committing the depredations were rebels, and that he would be glad to receive assistance against them. The colonists, as yet without experience of Bantu duplicity, believed Rarabe's statement, though some of his immediate followers were among the plunderers.

During the summer of 1779-80 two commandos took the field for the purpose of expelling the intruders. One, composed of the farmers from both sides of Bruintjes Hoogte, was under command of Josua Joubert. The refugees from the Zuurveld and their friends west of the Bushman's river formed the other, which was commanded by Pieter Hendrik Ferreira. The Xosas were attacked and defeated on several occasions, when a considerable number of their cattle were taken; but they were not entirely driven to their own side of the Fish river.

During the winter those who had been apparently subdued crossed again into the colony, accompanied by many others, and it became evident that a grand effort must be made to expel them. On the 24th of October 1780 the council of policy, at the request of the district courts, appointed Adriaan van Jaarsveld field commandant of the eastern frontier, and gave him military authority over the whole of the border farmers. There was no man in the country better qualified for the post than he. Accustomed from his earliest boyhood to warfare with savages, compelled to be ever ready to defend his family and his flocks from marauders, he knew exactly how to act in an emergency of this kind. He had retired to Bruintjes Hoogte from the Sneeuwberg in 1776 to be free of depredations by Bushmen, and he was resolved not to move again if he could by any means hold his own.

On the 14th of November the council of policy resolved that as the Xosas had not respected the Fish river as the boundary, the commandant should be authorised to expel them by force. On the 5th of December instructions were issued for his guidance, in which he was directed to endeavour to come to an amicable arrangement with the intruders, on the basis of their retirement across the Fish river and a mutual restoration of all cattle captured. If they would consent to this proposal, the commandant was to take care that no European molested them or thereafter entered their country for any purpose, and he was not to interfere in the feuds between the clans. But if they declined, he was to assemble an armed force and drive them over the river.

Early in the summer the old chief Langa, brother of Rarabe and head of the Amambala clan, moved to the western bank of the Bushman's river. As a peace offering he sent to the nearest European camp a small herd of cattle and a few horses taken from farmers in the Zuurveld, with a message that he wished to remain for a short time where he was. He was still there when Commandant Van Jaarsveld offered him the choice of retreating to his own country or being attacked. Langa elected to retire, and did so at once. He was consequently not molested, but of all the chiefs who had invaded the colony he was the only one willing to retreat.

The commandant therefore collected the European and Hottentot families of the frontier in a couple of lagers or camps formed by drawing up waggons in a circle and filling the spaces between the wheels with thorn trees. Leaving a few men to defend the lagers, with ninety-two burghers and forty Hottentots, all mounted and well armed, he fell upon the Xosas and smote them hip and thigh. The commando was in the field from the 23rd of May to the 19th of July 1781, and was only disbanded when the last of the intruders was again beyond the Fish river and the first Kaffir war was over.

The spoil—five thousand three hundred head of horned cattle, among which, however, were many recently taken from the farmers—was divided by the commandant among the members of his force. On the 9th of October the matter was discussed by the council of policy, when it was resolved that the cattle which were taken from the Xosas and divided among the men of the commando might be retained on this occasion, but that the decision was not to form a precedent, much less was it to serve as a basis for the colonists to seek a quarrel with the Kaffirs and to rob them of anything that belonged to them.

While the events that have been related were taking place, it was too much to expect that the farmers of the eastern districts would leave their families and property exposed, and proceed to Capetown, six or eight hundred kilometres distant, to keep watch against a foreign foe.

As soon, however, as intelligence was received that the mother country was at war, the burghers within the old settled districts declared their readiness to do all in their power for the defence of the colony. Their disaffection to the government of Mr. Van Plettenberg did not interfere with their loyalty to the Netherlands. A call was made upon the burghers of Stellenbosch to come to the assistance of the garrison, and on the 2nd of April a detachment arrived at the castle. It was arranged that half of the Stellenbosch militia should remain under arms in Capetown for a month, and then be relieved by the other half, who would remain for the same period.

There were several richly laden ships, homeward bound, lying in Table Bay, and their officers as well as the Cape council considered it injudicious for them to proceed upon their voyage until they could sail under the protection of a fleet of war. But as the winter was approaching, they could not be kept in Table Bay, and in Simon's Bay there were no means of defending them in the event of an attack by an English fleet. Under these circumstances it was resolved to protect the entrance to Hout Bay by constructing a battery upon the western point and mounting twenty cannon upon it. Within the next few weeks the ships *Batavia*, *Amsterdam*, *Morgenster*, and *Indiaan* were sent there for safety.

But Hout Bay is too small to contain more than four or five ships of heavy burden, and it was therefore resolved to send any others that might arrive to Saldanha Bay, which was considered less liable than Simon's Bay to be visited. On the 13th of May the homeward bound ships *Hoogkarspel*, *Honkoop*, *Middelburg*, *Paarl*, and *Dankbaarheid* were sent there, and with them was sent the *Held Woltemaade*, an outward bound Indiaman, that she might undergo some necessary repairs and refresh her crew before proceeding to Ceylon. Gerrit Harmeyer, skipper of the *Hoogkarspel*, was appointed commodore of the squadron. He was directed to anchor in a sheltered position and then unbend all the sails of the ships, which he was to stow away in the packets *Zon* and *Snelheid*, now useless owing to the war. These vessels were to be sent some distance up the bay, so that they could be easily destroyed in case of necessity. The commodore was enjoined to make the best possible preparations for defence, but no means could be provided by the government beyond the ordinary armaments of the Indiamen.

The day after intelligence was received that the United Provinces were at war, the English brig *Betsy*—a packet used by the government of St. Helena—came into Table Bay and dropped her anchors without suspicion of danger. Some French cruisers were lying in the bay, and as soon as the *Betsy's* yards were lowered they sent their boats and took possession of her without resistance. The French also seized a vessel under Tuscan colours lying in the bay, and retained her as a prize on the ground that she was really English property.

The *Betsy* was transferred by her captors to Governor Van Plettenberg, by whom she was renamed the *Postiljon.*

There was living in Capetown at the time a retired French naval officer, Captain (after 1783 the chevalier) François Duminy, and he was placed in command of the prize, with directions to convey intelligence of the war with all possible speed to Ceylon. The Company's packet *Herstelder* was ready to sail with a cargo of wheat for Europe. Her destination was altered, and within twenty-four hours she was on her way to Batavia with despatches.

There were several English visitors at the Cape, passengers by Dutch Indiamen to Europe, and others. These, with the officers of the *Betsy,* were sent to one of the Company's outposts, to prevent them from communicating with their countrymen.* The English sailors were distributed among the Dutch ships.

Seven weeks of suspense and anxiety passed away without any further knowledge of what was transpiring in the outer world. At length, on the 20th of May, the French frigate *Serapis* dropped anchor in Simon's Bay, and her captain reported that a French fleet with a strong body of troops might shortly be expected to protect the Cape.

The intelligence was correct. As soon as war was proclaimed with the Netherlands, the English government commenced to fit out an expedition to seize this colony. Every particular concerning it, however, was made known to the French court by a spy named De la Motte, who was resident in London, and who was detected, tried for high treason, and condemned to death a few months later. At this time a French fleet was being prepared to act against Sir Edward Hughes in the eastern seas. Its equipment was therefore hurried on with the utmost expedition, and some transports were added for the purpose of conveying land forces to South Africa. It was seen to be a trial of speed, in which the possession of the Cape was to be the prize of the winner.

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* Four of them—Archibald Blair, John Robinson, James Plunkett, and Lewis Andrew de la Chaumette—remained at Vissershok as prisoners at large for two years and a half.

On the 13th of March 1781 the English fleet sailed from Spithead. It consisted of the *Romney*, of 50 guns, carrying the flag of Commodore George Johnstone, commander-in-chief of the expedition, the *Hero*, 74, *Monmouth*, 64, *Jupiter*, 50, *Isis*, 50, *Apollo*, 38, *Jason*, 36, *Active*, 32, *Diana*, 28, *Infernal*, fireship, *Terror*, bomb, seven light armed cruisers, two cutters and a sloop as despatch vessels, four transports, eight storeships and victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen, in all forty-six sail. Three thousand soldiers, under General Meadows, were on board. On the fourth day after sailing, a Dutch merchantman was chased by the *Rattlesnake* cutter, and captured after a sharp action.

All went well until the arrival of the fleet at St. Jago, where the commodore intended to take in a supply of fresh water, for which purpose he came to anchor in Porto Praya roads. He had no suspicion of danger,* as he did not consider it possible that his destination was known to the enemy. No precautions were therefore taken against surprise, but, on the contrary, the decks of the ships of war were encumbered with casks and lumber of various kinds, and the best of the seamen were sent ashore to bring water to the boats. While in this condition, on the 16th of April some strange ships with no colours flying were observed from the *Isis* to be standing in under all sail, and immediately the intelligence was conveyed by signal to the rest of the fleet. There was hardly time to clear the guns before the strangers were abreast of the outermost English ships, and dropping anchor within cable's length of the *Isis*, the leading vessel poured a broadside into that frigate and then ran the French flag to her mizen peak.

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* According to the official report. Major Henry Rooke, who was with the expedition, gives a different account. He says: "How different this from what might have been the case if we had paid attention to the intelligence received on shore, and made proper arrangements. We found by the Port book at Praya, (containing the names, countries, and descriptions of all ships arriving here) that a French Frigate came into the Bay to water but a few weeks before, and apprized the inhabitants of this fleet," (that is the one under Suffren) "which she said would touch at Praya to refresh in the course of the month of April, desiring them to have cattle and everything ready; and the people of this island so fully expected the French fleet, that when ours appeared they concluded it to be that of which the Frigate had

The ships which made the attack were the *Heros* and *Hannibal*, each of seventy-four guns, and the *Artésien*, of sixty-four guns, forming part of a squadron under command of Acting Commodore Pierre André de Suffren, in after years vice-admiral of France. Two other ships of the line, the *Vengeur* and the *Sphinx*, each of sixty-four guns, were present, but not keeping close enough to the wind, they failed to get within proper cannon range, and took hardly any part in the action. The remainder of the squadron, consisting of a corvette and eight transports with troops on board, remained at a distance in the offing.

Suffren sailed from Brest on the 22nd of March in company with a fleet under the count De Grasse bound to the West Indies. On the 29th he separated from De

given them notice. All this we learned on our arrival, and had we in consequence thereof kept a look out to windward, had our men of war been moor'd head and stern with springs on their cables, and formed in a line on the outside, the convoy being within; had all our people been on board and the ships properly clear'd for action, for which they would in that case have received timely notice, it is to be presumed that we should have been able to have given a better account of our own success and the enemy's loss."

Grasse, and pushed on southward, hoping to reach the Cape before Johnstone. The *Hannibal* was originally intended to form part of the West India fleet, but had been added to his command just before he sailed, and was not supplied with sufficient water for a long voyage. Suffren resolved therefore to put into Porto Praya, and that no time might be lost the water casks were got on deck as the ships approached the roadstead. The *Artésien* was in advance, and as she rounded a point the English fleet at anchor came in sight. Captain De Cardaillac, her commander, communicated this information by signal, and Suffren immediately resolved to make use of the advantage of an attack by surprise. He therefore gave the signal for action, and took the lead in the *Heros*. Captain De Cardaillac hailed him, and inquired what was to be done if fire should be opened upon them from a fort on land, as the Portuguese—the owners of the island—were neutral in the war. "Open fire in return" was the reply. The *Hannibal's* decks were encumbered with casks, and her guns were not ready for action, but she stood on, and dropped her anchor close ahead of the *Heros*. The *Artésien* took up a position at no great distance.

The English fleet was at a tremendous disadvantage. The commodore's ship, moored inside the Indiamen, could take little or no part in the defence. The smaller men-of-war were almost useless against such formidable assailants, and the transports, victuallers, and merchantmen were in even a worse condition. The French ships of the line were pouring in broadsides as fast as their guns could be loaded. The enemy could not be clearly distinguished through the smoke, and some of the transports in the confusion fired into the Indiamen.

But the English seamen were neither idle nor dismayed. Soon after the *Isis* received the broadside of the *Heros* they were answering shot for shot, and in ten minutes from the commencement of the action a cheer arose from the outermost ship and was echoed throughout the fleet as the French admiral's mizen topmast and ensign were carried away. One worthy scion of the seakings, Captain Ward of the *Hero*, was not content with mere defence, but resolved to become the assailant. Having got hands from the nearest ships to assist in working his guns, he boarded the *Artésien* with some of his own crew, and though he did not succeed in capturing that vessel, after a desperate fight in which Captain De Cardaillac was killed, he actually took twenty-five prisoners and brought them away with him. From these prisoners the English officers and sailors first learnt that their destination was the Cape of Good Hope, for the fleet was sailing under sealed orders, no one except the commodore himself being acquainted with the object of the expedition.

After cannonading each other at cable's length for nearly two hours it was still doubtful which side would be victorious, when the *Hannibal's* mizen mast was seen to fall, and almost immediately afterwards her main and fore topmasts tottered and went over. Cheer after cheer now rose in the English fleet, and hundreds of men stood ready for the order to spring into the boats and board the wreck. Suffren hailed the *Hannibal*, and asked after the condition of the crew. The captain had been killed and nearly two hundred men were lying dead or wounded on the decks, was the reply. There was not a moment therefore to lose, so the cables of the French ships were cut, the *Hannibal* was taken in tow by the *Heros*, and Suffren stood out to sea. He took with him the *Hinchinbroke* and *Fortitude*, Indiamen, the *Infernal*, fireship, and the *Edward*, victualler, which had been cut out and placed in charge of prize crews.

Johnstone at once gave orders for the ships of war under his command to follow the enemy. But some of them were unprepared for sea, and it was only after three hours' delay that they assembled outside. The *Isis* was then found to be crippled by the loss of a topmast and several yards, besides having her sails and rigging cut to pieces, and two or three others had sustained injuries which needed prompt attention. Meanwhile the French fleet was increasing its distance, and as night was setting in the commodore judged it expedient to abandon pursuit.

In the action at Porto Praya the English loss was forty-two killed and one hundred and forty-one wounded, that of the French was somewhat heavier. Both suffered more in material comparatively than in men. Several of the Indiamen were badly cut up. The *Terror*, bomb, lost her bowsprit and foremast; she then caught fire, and her cable parting she drifted out to sea, but managed to get back in the night. The *Hinchinbroke*, *Fortitude*, *Edward*, and *Infernal* were made prizes, but none of them remained under the French flag. The first three were so shattered that the prize crews abandoned them, and they were all recovered within a few days. The *Infernal* was retaken by her own crew while the captors were off their guard. Twenty-one Englishmen, however, had been removed from this vessel and remained prisoners in the *Heros*, against whom, on the other side, must be counted the twenty-five Frenchmen carried off by Captain Ward from the *Artésien*.

Suffren, after the action, made the best of his way to the Cape. Spare masts were fitted up in the *Hannibal*, and as the wind was generally fair, a quick passage, under the circumstances, was made. On the 21st of June the *Heros* arrived in Simon's Bay in advance of the rest of the squadron. It was feared that the English fleet was close at hand, so the signal guns which had been placed on prominent hills were fired, and in response a large body of burghers hastened from all parts of the country within three hundred kilometres to aid in the defence of Capetown.

After a few days the French transports arrived, when a company of artillery, part of the infantry regiment of

Austrasia, and the regiment of Pondicherry—the last commanded by Colonel Conway, an Irishman in the French service—were landed.* These troops marched overland to Capetown, where they arrived on the 3rd of July. The Austrasia regiment was not intended to remain here long. It was quartered in a large warehouse adjoining the Lutheran church, until it could be sent to Mauritius. The regiment of Pondicherry, which was to remain here during the war, was quartered in a wing of the new hospital. This building was not yet completed, though eighty to a hundred men had been working upon it nearly nine years. In June 1779 a portion of it was first used as a hospital. One large ward was converted into a grain and another into a wine magazine. And now for the first time, owing to there being no other accommodation available, the right wing became a barrack.†

The demand for provisions for the French fleet and troops caused a sudden and great increase in prices. The governor and council considered this circumstance unfair to those who had come to save the colony from conquest, and they therefore invited the acting and retired burgher councillors to form a committee with two government officers to draw up a scale of prices which should be adhered to while the war lasted.

The committee proposed as a maximum: wheat to strangers not higher than twelve shillings a muid, meal thirty-two shillings and three pence farthing the hundred kilogrammes, wine £9 a legger (of which £1 was to be paid to the licensed dealer), beef 4⅖*d.* and mutton 2⅕*d.* a kilogramme. To this scale the council of policy agreed, and all persons were prohibited under heavy penalties from selling at a dearer rate.

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* The celebrated Barras, afterwards a member of the Directorate of France, was at this time serving in the regiment of Pondicherry. He was for a considerable time a resident of Capetown.

† The entire building became a barrack in 1795, and was used for that purpose until 1903, when it was pulled down, and the ground on which it had stood was cut up into small plots and sold.

To prevent intelligence being conveyed to the English, two Danish Indiamen, homeward bound, that put into Simon's Bay for supplies, were detained there, as it was feared that they might either touch at St. Helena or meet with strangers at sea. The *Held Woltemaade*, however, having completed her repairs, was permitted to sail for Ceylon.

On the morning of the 22nd of July a report reached Capetown that a fleet of thirty-three sail was in sight off Saldanha Bay. The burgher lieutenant Van Reenen was thereupon hurried off with a troop of mounted men to ascertain particulars, and a messenger was despatched to Hout Bay with orders to the skippers of the vessels there to return at once to Table Bay, to keep close inshore on the passage, and if attacked to run their ships aground and destroy them. Lieutenant Van Reenen had not proceeded far when he met a company of sailors who informed him that an English fleet was in possession of Saldanha Bay.

As soon as Johnstone could refit his ships after the action at Porto Praya, he sailed for the Cape, which he still had some hope of reaching before Suffren, as he thought it likely that the French fleet would be compelled to put into a Brazilian port to repair damages. This being doubtful, however, when near his destination he sent the *Active* on ahead, for the purpose of reconnoitring Table Bay.

Soon after parting from the fleet, a strange sail standing to the southward was observed by the *Active's* lookout, upon which Captain Mackenzie hoisted French colours and ran towards her. It was the *Held Woltemaade,* just out of Saldanha Bay. Being hailed in French, the officers of the Indiaman were unsuspicious of danger, and they gave full information concerning the arrival of Suffren and the condition of the five ships they had recently parted from. Captain Mackenzie then hauled down the French flag and demanded the surrender of the *Wolte-*

maade under pain of instantly sinking her. She was given up without a blow. On taking possession, the captors found in addition to a valuable cargo a sum of money equal to forty thousand pounds sterling, which was intended to aid the government of Ceylon. The *Active* immediately returned with her prize and reported to the commodore, who, upon learning that the garrison of the Cape was now too strong to be attacked, resolved to make himself master of the five Indiamen. Lieutenant William Paterson, who had travelled in South Africa from 1777 to 1779, and who was well acquainted with the western coast, was with him, and could act as a pilot into Saldanha Bay.

At half past nine in the morning of the 21st of July a signal was made from the lookout station at Saldanha Bay that a large fleet under French colours was in sight and standing straight in. An hour later the leading ships were within the entrance, when they hauled down the French and hoisted English colours.

According to their instructions, the Dutch officers should now have destroyed their ships, seeing that defence and escape were alike impossible. But Skipper Van Gennep of the *Middelburg* was the only one of the five who had taken the precaution to have a quantity of inflammable materials in readiness for such an occasion, and the consequence was that although all the ships were hastily set on fire and abandoned, the English sailors got possession of the *Hoogkarspel*, *Honkoop*, *Paarl*, and *Dankbaarheid*, in time to extinguish the flames before any material injury was done.

Three fires were kindled in the hold of the *Middelburg* by her chief officer, Abraham de Smidt, ancestor of the colonial family of this name. He with the steward and one seaman had remained behind for that purpose when the remainder of the crew left, and they did not make their escape until the English were within cannon shot. In a moment the flames were pouring through the lower hatchways, and shortly they reached the magazine, when an explosion took place which hurled chests of tea and bales of cotton goods together with fragments of timber high into the air. What was left of the hull sank to the bottom, but as the water was shallow the remains of the cargo were easily recovered some years later.

The *Zon* and *Snelheid* were abandoned without any effort to destroy them, and thus the captors obtained possession of all the equipage of their prizes. At Saldanha Bay two Indian nobles were found, who had been banished by the Batavian government from Ternate and Tidor for political offences. These exiles were released from captivity, and were received as guests on board one of the men-of-war. In two days the Indiamen were got ready for sea, and on the 24th the fleet sailed, leaving nothing afloat but the two empty packets *Zon* and *Snelheid*, which were so old and decayed as not to be worth taking away.

The main object of the expedition having been frustrated, Commodore Johnstone resolved to send the troops on to India and to take a portion of the fleet back to Europe. He therefore placed Captain Alms in command of the convoy, for the protection of which he left five of his best ships of war; and with the *Romney*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, *Jason*, *Terror*, *Infernal*, one light cruiser, three victuallers, and the Dutch prizes, he stood away for England.

The loss of the six ships, all of which were richly laden, was severely felt by the Dutch East India Company, then no longer, as in the early years of its existence, able to bear such a disaster with equanimity.

As there was now no danger of an immediate attack, in August the burghers were permitted to return to their homes. The governor reported to the directors that their alacrity to serve had surprised him, and Colonel Conway expressed great satisfaction with their conduct. The defence of the Cape was left to the regiment of Pondicherry and the Dutch troops, together with a small corps of half-breeds and Hottentots which was raised in the country and stationed in Capetown. The armaments on the forts were very defective, but in November forty cannon and a large supply of ammunition arrived from Mauritius.

The necessities of the government were pressing and the treasury was empty. No money could be expected from the mother country during the continuance of the war. In these straits, on the 6th of November 1781 the council of policy resolved to borrow from the colonists as much as was urgently needed, to pay interest monthly for the loan at the rate of half per cent, and to promise to repay the principal upon the arrival of the first outward bound fleet. Sufficient money was not to be obtained in this way, however, and after the 30th of April 1782 expenditure was met by notes, which in a short time were issued to the amount of £185,044. This was the introduction of a system of equalising revenue and expenditure that for nearly half a century caused great confusion in commercial transactions.

A few years later notes to the amount of £165,180 were redeemed, either in specie or by bills on Holland, but further issues were afterwards made. In 1795 the amount of such paper outstanding, with no security except the promise of the government to pay when it could, was £122,782. The notes offered great temptation to unprincipled persons to defraud the uneducated farmers of the interior. They were easily forged, and in this way many persons became the victims of swindlers.

In May 1782 the garrison was strengthened by the arrival of a body of troops termed the regiment of Luxemburg, raised in France, but in the pay of the Dutch East India Company. This regiment remained until February 1783, when it was sent to Ceylon. Just before it left the Cape, the regiment of Meuron, a strong body of Swiss troops in the pay of the Dutch Company, arrived to replace it. In February 1783 the French regiment of

Waldener, also in the Company's pay, arrived and formed a camp under canvas at Diep River. In April of the same year this regiment left for Batavia. The regiment of Pondicherry, which was sent to assist the Dutch, but was not in the pay of the Company, remained at the Cape until some time after the conclusion of peace, and in April 1784 it embarked for Mauritius. In 1785 the troops that remained consisted of the Swiss regiment of Meuron, some five hundred Dutch infantry under Gordon, who had been advanced to the rank of colonel, and a few engineers under Major Philip Herman Gilquin, who since June 1779 had been director of fortifications in Table Valley.

Before the French troops left, they threw up an earthen embankment between the foot of the Devil's peak and the shore of Table Bay, to aid in the defence of Capetown against an enemy that might land at Simonstown and march across the isthmus to attack the seat of government from that side. This embankment was afterwards known as the French lines.

CHAPTER L.

JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG, GOVERNOR, (*continued*).

OWING to the war with England there was no communication between South Africa and the Netherlands for more than a year, and until the 1st of April 1782 the replies of the officers of the Cape government to the charges made against them by the burghers could not be sent away. When these documents reached the Netherlands they were referred by the directors to the committee which had the case under examination. One of them attracted special attention. This was the statement of the fiscal, the tone of which convinced the directors that Mr. Boers was not an officer who could safely be left in power. They therefore agreed without hesitation to his request to resign his duties, but required him to furnish bail to the amount of a little over £1,000 if he should leave the colony for Europe before the charges against him were decided. He retired from office in April 1783. Mr. Jan Jacob Serrurier was instructed by the council to act as fiscal, and in November 1784 he received from the prince of Orange the permanent appointment.

The principles of Mr. Boers have been commented upon, but another instance of the manner in which he put them in practice may be given. During the war there was such a scarcity of blankets and rough cloth in the colony that the slaves were almost naked. Thereupon several enterprising persons formed the idea of manufacturing blankets and cloth at the Cape, and a company was got together prepared to risk the necessary capital. There was coarse wool to be had in plenty, and a burgher named Frederik Heyneman, who was living in the village of Stellenbosch, and who had been a weaver before he came to this country, was engaged to commence the work. All was in readiness, and only permission was needed from the government. The company—Messrs. Tobias Christiaan Ronnekamp, Jan Frederik Kirsten, Olof Godlieb de Wet, and Gerrit Hendrik Cruywagen, all in the government service, and the burghers Jan Meyndert Cruywagen, Jan Serrurier, Jan Bottiger, and Gerrit Hendrik Meyer—applied to the council for the necessary leave. All the members were willing, except Mr. Boers, who denounced the project of establishing manufactures in a colony as little short of treason, and succeeded in thwarting the plan.

The old skipper Staring, head of the naval establishment, left South Africa before the fiscal. In January 1782 the Danish ship *Castle of Dansburg* put into Table Bay, where an embargo was laid upon her. Staring and Captain De Lille went on board to communicate the decision of the council, when the Danish skipper ordered sail to be set and tried to get away. Fire was then opened upon the ship from the forts, upon which the skipper obliged Staring to stand in the most dangerous position. He did so with the utmost composure, although the shot was flying thick around him. In a few minutes the Dane was obliged to surrender. But Staring, brave in front of cannon balls, feared the result of the inquiry that was being made into his alleged peculations, and within a week of this event he requested the council of policy to allow him to take his discharge. This was granted, much to the dissatisfaction of the directors when they were informed of it, and he left for Europe in a neutral ship. He was succeeded as head of the naval establishment by Justinus van Gennep, recently skipper of the *Middelburg*.

While the statements of the officials were on the way to Europe, the assembly of seventeen met. The delegate

Roos had died, but Messrs. Van Reenen, Artois, and Heyns were still in Amsterdam. They delivered to the directors another memorial containing further charges against the Cape officials, supported by numerous documents. The memorial and its annexures were referred to the committee of investigation. The directors resolved to instruct the government at the Cape to do everything in its power, consistently with the Company's interests, to smooth over matters and to allay the discontent of the burghers. But they did not explain how that was to be effected without making concessions or amending the system under which their officers were paid, so that such instructions were practically of no value.

Towards the close of 1783, four years after the matter had been placed in their hands, the committee of investigation sent in a report. They had come to the conclusion that the complainants could not be held to represent the whole body of burghers at the Cape, and that the charges against the officials had not been proved. They recommended that no changes in the regulations regarding commerce should be made until a general European peace, and that consequently the colonists should not be granted liberty to trade on their own account with Europe and India. They objected to allowing an appeal from the high court of justice at the Cape to the supreme court of the Netherlands instead of to the court at Batavia, as that would practically remove the Cape from the jurisdiction of the Company; but they approved of reconstituting the high court of justice, so as to make it consist of six servants of the Company beside the president and six burghers, instead of nine servants of the Company and three burghers as formerly. They were in favour of allowing the Company's servants to have gardens for their own use, but not to sell produce from them. They left to the fiscal his perquisites, including the fee of one shilling and four pence on every muid of corn or meal sold to foreigners; but they proposed to restrict to

£40 his power of compounding cases instead of bringing them into court.

On the 3rd of December 1783 this report was adopted by the assembly of seventeen, and was communicated to the Cape government by the next ships that sailed. At the same time the directors resolved not to prohibit the banishment of useless persons from the colony, but to instruct the governor and council of policy to use this power sparingly and with discretion, and to give the person deported the choice of removal to Europe or India.

This result of their complaints gave great dissatisfaction to the colonists. Since 1779 the condition of affairs had greatly altered, as there had never before been such a demand for produce as that created by the large garrison and the French forces in the East. A French commissariat officer, M. Percheron, resided at the Cape, and purchased large quantities of provisions at high prices. Other nationalities also had agents here for the same purpose, though their requirements were not nearly so great. Next to the French in commercial dealings in South Africa at this time were the Danes, whose agent in Capetown was the burgher Hendrik Justinus de Wet. Many new trading houses had been established by burghers. In Capetown there was a display of prosperity which astonished strangers. European and Indian wares in the greatest variety and of the most costly description were introduced in large quantities by Danish ships; and though the prices asked were exorbitant, they commanded a ready sale. The defective means of communication with the interior attracted greater attention than at any previous period, and the council of policy was desired to adopt measures for making good roads, that the inhabitants might more easily exchange the productions of the country and obtain foreign wares. The subject of a free coasting trade came also into prominence, and a memorial upon it was addressed to the government by those who desired to carry it on.

But the burghers of South Africa, though keenly alive to the advantages of material prosperity, have at every period of their history shown a firmer attachment to what they held to be their political rights and liberties. There have indeed been times when considerable parties of men have wavered between money and freedom from misrule, but the women have never hesitated in rejecting prosperity at the price of oppression or disdainful treatment. And perhaps nowhere else in the world have women the influence that they have on South African farms. On this occasion neither men nor women were disposed to let the question rest. The government resorted to various petty persecutions, but the party opposed to it, instead of diminishing, increased in strength, and resolved now to appeal to the states-general of the Netherlands.

With this object, in December 1784 two memorials, signed by Marthinus Adriaan Bergh, Christiaan George Maasdorp, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Hendrik Pieter Warnecke, Jan Albert Myburgh, Jan Daniel de Villiers, Jan Caspar Groenewald, Philip Albert Myburgh, Hendrik Louw, and Jan Roos, who had been chosen as representatives by the Cape burghers, were forwarded to the delegates who were still in Holland. In these memorials complaints were made of iniquitous and imperious government, of maladministration of justice, and of the scanty attention paid by the directors of the East India Company to the representations of the colonists.

In the mean time, however, the directors had come to the conclusion that changes were necessary in the government of the Cape, though they could not bring themselves so far as to grant to the colonists liberty of foreign commerce. They had narrowly escaped losing the country altogether, and they were now aware that the burghers were not in a position to defend it from foreign attacks. Governor Van Plettenberg, who had been surprised at the alacrity shown by the farmers to aid the garrison in time of danger, had tried to get a company of burghers stationed in the town, to be relieved monthly by others, but the duty to be permanent. In this he had not succeeded. Early in 1783 the preliminaries of a treaty of peace had been arranged with Great Britain; but it was admitted on all sides that a garrison of at least two thousand men was required to secure the Cape against surprise in the event of another war, and that additional fortifications must be built for the protection of the seat of government and of the winter station of Simonstown.

The directors therefore resolved to send out as governor a military officer of rank and experience, to station here a large body of troops as a depôt for India, and to employ these troops in the construction of necessary works. In concurrence with the states-general, they selected as governor Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff, an engineer officer, who was then controller-general of the fortifications in Holland, and who enjoyed the confidence of the stadtholder. Colonel Van de Graaff with his family arrived in South Africa on the 22nd of January 1785, and he took over the administration on the 14th of February. On the 10th of April Mr. Van Plettenberg left for Europe as admiral of the homeward bound fleet of the year.

During the war with England the Company's trade had been almost annihilated. Its fleets were laid up in harbours or were swept from the seas. It was compelled to employ ships under neutral flags to convey cargoes to and from India, and to prevent the utter ruin of its dependencies was obliged to allow any one who chose to buy and sell freely in its foreign possessions. There was hardly a nation in Europe that did not furnish adventurers to take advantage of this condition of things. The list of ships that put into the two open ports of South Africa on their way to and from the East during the four years 1781-1784 shows this very clearly.

	Table Bay				Simon's Bay			
	1781	1782	1783	1784	1781	1782	1783	1784
Dutch	29	13	14	38	2	2	7	10
English	2	—	18	18	—	—	—	5
French	19	18	42	40	16	38	8	5
Danish	10	18	20	14	5	5	7	5
Swedish	3	3	8	8	1	1	2	3
Austrian	1	8	27	12	—	—	2	1
Portuguese	1	2	3	2	—	—	—	—
Italian	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Prussian	—	1	8	4	—	—	4	1
Hamburg	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Russian	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
Spanish	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
American	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

Thus out of an average yearly number of one hundred and thirty-five ships, only twenty-nine were Dutch, and many of these were owned by individuals or were men-of-war belonging to the national government. In September 1783 peace was concluded, but the old order of things could not at once be restored.

During these years it was not possible to send much produce to Europe, though a considerable quantity of provisions was forwarded to the Company's establishments in India, for the use of the garrisons there. Three or four hundred casks of beef and pork salted at the Cape formed part of these shipments. The years 1783 and 1784 were marked by severe drought in the western parts of the colony, and the grain crops were very poor; but abundance of rain fell in the east, and meat and butter were plentiful and cheap.

Since the middle of the century the colony had been visited by several distinguished strangers, some of whom have left impressions of what they saw in interesting volumes.

Lord Clive touched here when on his way to India for the last time, on the 17th of December 1764. Shortly after the anchor of his ship—the *Kent*—was dropped, a stiff south-easter set in, but he determined to try to get ashore. He left the ship in a large boat well manned, but could not reach the jetty, and after a long struggle against the gale, was obliged to run to Robben Island and pass the night there.

On landing at the Cape next morning, he was received with all possible honour, and during his stay he resided in the government house in the garden as the guest of the Company. He was provided with a military guard, not only for himself, but for the colonels who accompanied him. Captain Collins, who commanded an English man-of-war lying in the bay, took offence at this. He was lodging on shore, and ascertaining late one evening that Clive's colonels had a guard of soldiers, he sent to request the immediate attendance of the government secretary. When that gentleman arrived, Captain Collins demanded that he should be informed on the authority of the governor why he, who held the king's commission, was treated with less courtesy than officers who held their rank from Lord Clive. It was with difficulty that the offended captain could be induced to let the matter rest for that night, as the governor had retired, and the secretary did not wish to disturb him. In the morning the matter was laid before Governor Tulbagh, who assured the captain that no slight whatever was intended; and a guard was placed at his service, as he desired it.

Lord Clive remained ashore until the 12th of January 1765, when he embarked, and sailed on the 16th. On the 22nd of April 1767 he arrived at the Cape again, on his return passage to England. On this occasion also the government house in the garden was placed at his disposal, but he declined it with thanks, and took lodgings with the burgher Petrus Johannes de Wit. He left on the 4th of May.

Captain James Cook called at Table Bay in the *Endeavour* on his homeward passage, on the 15th of March 1771. After refreshing his crew and taking in a stock of provisions, he sailed on the 14th of April. He touched again at Table Bay with the *Resolution* and *Adventure* on his outward passage in November 1772, and when returning homeward in March 1775. He was here again when outward bound on his last voyage with the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in October 1776.

Bernardin de St. Pierre, author of *Paul et Virginie*, spent about six weeks at the Cape in 1771.

Dr. Andrew Sparrman, a Swedish naturalist, was here in 1772 and in 1775-76, Dr. C. P. Thunberg, also a Swede, from 1772 to 1775, Captain Stavorinus, a Zeelander, on several occasions between 1768 and 1778, Lieutenant William Paterson, an Englishman, from 1777 to 1779, and M. François le Vaillant, a French creole, from 1780 to 1785. All of these have given accounts of their travels.

The French explorer Captain Kerguelen when proceeding to visit the south polar sea put into Simon's Bay with the *Rolland* and *Oiseau* in May 1773. Just a year later he put into the same port again when returning to Brest.

During this period the following shipping disasters took place on the South African coast:

On the 9th of June 1752 the Danish ship *Crown Princess of Denmark*, homeward bound from Tranquebar, put into Mossel Bay disabled, having sustained great damage in a gale. The cargo was landed and stored in sheds until it could be forwarded to Copenhagen, and the wreck was then abandoned. All possible assistance was given to the crew by the Cape authorities.

The English East India Company's ship *Doddington* sailed from the Downs on the 23rd of April 1755. At a quarter to one in the morning of Thursday the 17th of July, while no one on board suspected danger, she struck a rock on the eastern side of Algoa Bay, and at once went to pieces. Of two hundred and seventy persons on board, all perished but twenty-three. Those saved found themselves upon a barren islet frequented only by sea-birds. Fortunately for them, a quantity of provisions, a small boat, a smith's bellows, much timber, and numerous other useful articles washed up from the wreck. They at once set to work to build a sloop of twelve feet or 3·66 metres beam and thirty feet or 9·14 metres keel, with which to make their escape. They had no nails; but a Swedish sailor, who had once been a blacksmith, put up a forge, and with iron obtained from pieces of the wreck managed to make as many as were needed.

As smoke was often seen on the mainland, on the 3rd of September three men left in the little boat to find out something of the country and its people. They steered for a point about fourteen or fifteen kilometres east of the islet, but when attempting to land the boat was overturned in the surf, and one man was drowned. The other two passed the night on the shore. Next day they found the boat, and managed to pull it up on the beach. In the evening, weary and almost exhausted from want of food, they turned the boat over and lay down under it to sleep, but were disturbed by wild animals prowling about. After sunrise a party of Hottentots appeared, who took from them a pistol and the greater part of their clothing, though otherwise the wild people were friendly and, seeing their distress from hunger, gave them some roots to eat. The wind was adverse that day, and they were obliged to pass another night under the boat, but on the following morning they returned to the islet.

During the last months of the year the wrecked people had as many sea-birds' eggs as they chose to gather, and at all times fish could be obtained, so that they did not suffer from hunger. On the 16th of February 1756 they launched their sloop and named her the *Happy Deliverance.* Two days later they sailed from the rock, to which they gave the name Bird Island, which it still bears. They reached Delagoa Bay safely, and there found a ship in which some of them obtained a passage home.

The others proceeded to Bombay in their sloop, which proved to be a good sea boat.

Two burghers—Andries du Pré and Pieter Ferreira—who were hunting elephants along the Bushman's and Sunday rivers, heard from some Hottentots rumours of the landing of the boat, and sent a report to the landdrost of Swellendam. Mr. Horak thereupon directed the farmers Nicolaas Haarhof and Pieter van Vuuren to make inquiries among the Hottentots, and they obtained the pistol which had been taken from the English sailors, but could learn nothing of a wreck. For anything they could gather, the boat might have belonged to a passing ship. In December 1755, by order of the government, the landdrost sent Dirk Marx, a hunter who was well acquainted with the country, to look for any white people who might be in distress; but he could hear of none, nor could he find any trace of a wreck. He reported having met Xosas as far west as the Great Fish river.

On the 19th of March 1756 the French ship *Cybelle*, bound to Mauritius from the coast of Guinea with slaves, in trying to beat into Table Bay ran ashore a little above Blueberg, and shortly went to pieces. Her crew, with the slaves, got safely aboard another French ship lying at anchor in the bay.

On the 3rd of June 1756 the Cape packet *Schuylenburg* left Table Bay to take some stores to Simon's Bay. That night there was a violent storm, and the *Schuylenburg* was never afterwards heard of.

On the 8th of June 1757 the Company's provision ship *Voorzigtigheid*, which had recently arrived from Batavia with goods for the Cape, in a gale from the north-west went ashore near Salt River mouth, and became a wreck. Her crew of fifty-nine men got safely to land.

In January 1757 the Company's ship *Naarstigheid* sailed from Bengal with a valuable cargo, and on the 9th of the following April was dismasted in a hurricane. During six weeks her crew did their best to reach False

Bay under jury masts, but finding this impossible, and being in great distress, they put the ship about and steered for Mozambique. The Agulhas current being now against them, they found they could not get so far north, so on the 1st of July they put into Delagoa Bay, and cast anchor before the ruins of the abandoned Dutch fort. They then sent out parties to endeavour to reach the Cape and Sofala overland, but these were soon obliged to return unsuccessful. In May 1758 a boat with an officer and five men left for Mozambique, but she was never afterwards heard of. After being dismasted, the *Naarstigheid* was spoken by the English ship *Delaware*, homeward bound, whose master reported the circumstance to the chamber of Delft. The directors thereupon issued instructions to the Cape government to cause a search to be made, and towards the close of 1758 the packet *Hector* left Table Bay for this purpose. She found the wreck, with fifty-nine individuals—including some passengers—still living. The greater portion of the cargo was undamaged. The *Hector* returned to the Cape with the intelligence, when some vessels were sent for the crew and cargo. As she also brought word that elephants in large numbers had been seen in the neighbourhood of the wreck, four experienced hunters from the district of Swellendam, who volunteered for the purpose, were sent to Delagoa Bay by this opportunity. Two of them died of fever immediately after landing, and the other two—Jan Deetlefs and Jacob Kock—only shot twenty elephants, most of the animals having gone inland before their arrival.

On the 11th of September 1763 the French man-of-war *Fortuné*, homeward bound from Mauritius, after encountering a heavy gale off the coast put into Fish Bay in a sinking condition. She was kept afloat until everything of value was landed, but was abandoned on the 27th, when she went down at her anchorage. Two days later she broke up in a storm. Her crew and some soldiers, four hundred and forty-one in all, proceeded overland to the Cape, where they embarked in French ships returning to Europe.

Contrary to the instructions of the directors, there were five Indiamen in Table Bay on the 1st of June 1773, when a gale from the north-west set in. A little after dawn, one of them—the outward bound ship *Jonge Thomas*—was driven from her anchors and cast on the beach beyond the mouth of Salt River. It was seen that the wreck could not hold together long, but for some time nothing was done to save the crew. In the course of the morning, however, a dairyman named Wolraad Woltemaade visited the scene of the disaster, and being mounted on a powerful horse, he dashed into the breakers and reached the ship's side. With two men holding to the horse's tail he returned to the shore, and this feat he repeated until he had saved fourteen of the crew. In the next venture he was swept under a breaker and was drowned. Shortly after this the wreck broke up, when one hundred and thirty-eight men lost their lives and fifty-three reached the land, making sixty-seven saved in all. The directors caused the exploit of the brave dairyman to be pictured on the stern of the next ship built for them, which they named the *Held* (Hero) *Woltemaade.*

On the 31st of January 1776 the Company's homeward bound ship *Nieuw Rhoon* when attempting to enter Table Bay was driven by a violent south-easter upon a reef at Robben Island, and was badly damaged. She was got off, and was brought up to the anchorage; but it was found necessary to beach her by the jetty to save her cargo.

On the 15th of October of the same year the French ship *Ceres*, homeward bound from Pondicherry, in a gale from the north-west parted her cables and went ashore near the mouth of Salt River. The ship broke up quickly, and very little cargo was saved; but no lives were lost.

On the 25th of August 1778 the English East India Company's outward bound ship *Colebrooke* when entering False Bay ran on a concealed reef, and was so much damaged that it was necessary to beach her near Cape Hangklip to save the crew. She went to pieces almost at once, and all the cargo was lost; but the crew, with the exception of two men, were saved by boats sent from ships in Simon's Bay.

In January 1778 the Company's ship *Venus* left Batavia to return to Europe. In July she put into Delagoa Bay with her rudder loose, and only eighteen men able to work. Fifty-five sailors had died of scurvy. One English and two Austrian vessels were found in Delagoa Bay, and with these intelligence of the condition of the *Venus* was sent to Ceylon, whence it reached the Cape. In June 1779 a packet from Table Bay found the ship with forty-five living men on board, out of the original crew of one hundred and twenty-nine. A fresh crew and provisions were sent from the Cape, the damages were repaired, and the *Venus* resumed her voyage.

On the 5th of January 1780 the Company's homeward bound ship *Mentor* went down in a great gale off the southern coast. On the 9th two of her crew were picked up by the French ship *Salomon.* They had been drifting about on a fragment of the poop, and were the only ones saved.

On the 24th of September 1782 the French corvette *Victor*, having anchored in the night too close to the breakers, was driven ashore in a north-west gale beyond the mouth of Salt River, and went to pieces. Nearly all of her crew were saved.

On the 11th of July 1783 the Danish outward bound ship *Nicobar* ran ashore on the coast a little to the eastward of Cape Agulhas, and became a total wreck. Only eleven of her crew managed to get to land.

On the 27th of January 1784 the French sixty-four gun ship *Sevère* when trying to beat up to the anchorage in Table Bay missed stays, and ran ashore on the Blueberg beach. She became a total wreck, but her crew got away safely in boats.

On the 7th of the following July the Company's ship *Hoop* ran ashore in the night close to Mouille Point, and became a wreck. Only one of her crew was lost.

More noteworthy than any of the above was the wreck of the English East India Company's ship *Grosvenor*, which was lost on the coast a few kilometres north of the Umzimvubu river in August 1782. This wreck has been a favourite theme for poets and romance writers, and to the present day speculations are frequently put forward as to the fate of the lady passengers. The *Grosvenor* sailed from Trincomalee on the 13th of June, having on board one hundred and fifty souls, passengers and crew all told. Among the passengers were several officers of position in the English East India Company's service, viz., Colonel James, Mr. Hosea, Captain Adair, and Messrs. Williams, Taylor, and Newman. Colonel James was accompanied by his wife, and Mr. Hosea by his wife and three children. The other passengers were Captain Talbot, of the royal navy, Colonel D'Espinette and Captain Olivier, French exchanged prisoners of war, Mrs. Logie, wife of the chief officer of the ship, and several children who were proceeding to England to be educated.

The ship was believed to be still a day's sail from the African coast, when at half past four in the morning of the 4th of August some seamen aloft saw land ahead. The fact was reported to the officer of the watch, who would not believe it. Presently the land was seen from the deck, though it was not yet daylight, and as the officer was still incredulous, a quartermaster ran below to the captain's cabin and begged him to hasten up. Captain Coxon instantly gave orders to wear ship, but before that could be done the *Grosvenor* was in the breakers and struck heavily.

A raft was made, but it broke adrift and was dashed to pieces. Two lascars then swam ashore with a lead line, by which means a hawser was stretched between the ship and the beach, and a number of men went safely along it. The wreck soon broke up, when a portion of the poop and quarter, upon which the passengers had crowded, drifted ashore. One hundred and thirty-six persons now found themselves on dry land, the remaining fourteen were drowned. Some provisions were washed on the beach, and having collected these, on the third day after the disaster the whole party, except two men who preferred to remain where they were, set out in hope of being able to make their way to the Cape. They had sufficient food to last eight or nine days, and were provided with five or six cutlasses. A great many Kaffirs made their appearance, but instead of helping the distressed people, they robbed the lady passengers of their trinkets, and carried off all the iron they could find.

Shortly after setting out, a quarrel arose with some Bantu, but it ended in a skirmish without a serious battle. Then the crew broke up into several parties, and the sturdiest pushed on ahead. One hundred and sixteen days after the wreck, six sailors, who had suffered very severe hardships from want of food, reached a farm on the Zwartkops river, where they were treated with the utmost kindness. Five of them were sent on to Swellendam, where they arrived on the 4th of December. By order of the governor and council, a relief expedition, consisting of one hundred Europeans and three hundred Hottentots, was at once organised, with which two of the sailors returned to the Kaffir country. Before reaching the Fish river, three more sailors and a lascar were met. Mr. Hillegard Mulder, who was in command of the expedition, left the waggons at the Kei, and pushed on with a party on horseback, but was obliged to turn back by the hostile attitude of the Tembus. In the Kaffir country six lascars and two black women who had been servants to the lady passengers were found. These stated that to the best of their belief all the other shipwrecked people had either been killed by the Kaffirs or had perished of want and fatigue.

They had been eye-witnesses of the death of many, but as they had left parties still struggling on behind, the fate of the others is involved in mystery. Two white men lived for some years near the scene of the wreck, but whether they were the same who remained behind, or others who turned back, is doubtful. One of them formed a connection with a Kaffir woman, and left a son who in 1824 was in the service of Mr. F. G. Farewell at Natal. This man informed Mr. Farewell that two women also lived near the wreck for a time, but that upon an invasion by a tribe from the westward, they hid in a forest, and were there starved to death. Who these women were cannot be ascertained, but it is nearly certain that they were not wrecked in the *Grosvenor.*

The lady passengers—Mrs. James, Mrs. Hosea, and Mrs. Logie—were with their husbands and Captain Coxon when they were last seen by those who were rescued. Three girls—Misses Dennis, Wilmot, and Hosea—were also with this party. No trace of any of these has ever since been found, and there can hardly be a doubt that they all perished of hunger and fatigue.

Several years later a report reached the colony that some white women were certainly living in the Kaffir country, and a party of thirteen burghers—Jan and Philip Holtshausen, Hillegard, Cornelis, and Ignatius Mulder, Tjaart and Pieter van der Walt, Lodewyk Prins, Pieter Lombard, Stephanus Scheepers, Hendrik van Rensburg, Jacob Joubert, and Jacob van Reenen—resolved to go in search of them. They elected Jan Holtshausen to be leader of the expedition, and Jacob van Reenen to be journalist. In August 1790 they set out. At the Kat river they first met Xosas, and at the Keiskama they found the chief Ndlambe at war with the Gunukwebe clan. A little farther on they turned more to the northward, and crossed the eastern extremity of the Amatola mountains, the Bontebok flats, and the Kei and Tsomo rivers. From the Amatola they found the country without other inhabitants than Bushmen until five hours' journey beyond the Tsomo they reached the first Tembu kraals. They then crossed the Bashee and the Umtata, and on a branch of the Umgazi river came to a kraal occupied by about four hundred people of mixed race, descendants of Europeans, Bantu, and East Indians.

Among these people were three old white women, who could not speak any European language, and did not know to what nation they belonged, though from one of them being called Bessie it was concluded that they were English. These women were wives of a petty chief, and had children and numerous grandchildren. It is almost certain that they belonged to the same shipwrecked party as the three Englishmen with whom the colonists under Hubner's leadership had dealings in 1736.

Holtshausen's party proceeded to the coast beyond the mouth of the Umzimvubu, where some remains of the *Grosvenor* were seen, but no trace of any of her crew or passengers was found. Holtshausen had the misfortune to fall into a game trap, and died from the effects of a wound received from a pointed stake in it. Another of the party—Lodewyk Prins—was killed by an elephant. On the 29th of December the expedition repassed the Keiskama on its return to the colony.

No new congregations had been formed since the middle of the century, but the five churches then in existence were kept supplied with chaplains by the East India Company. At the beginning of this period Mr. Van der Spuy was alone at the Cape, Stellenbosch was vacant, Mr. Van Echten was at Drakenstein, Mr. Meyring at Waveren, and Mr. Voltelen at Zwartland.

In October 1752 the reverend Hendrik Kroonenburg arrived from Europe and was stationed at Capetown. In

January 1753 Mr. Van der Spuy was transferred to Drakenstein, at his own request, when Mr. Van Echten returned to Holland. The Cape church was then again under the care of a single clergyman until September 1754, when the reverend Gerhardus Croeser arrived from Europe, and was inducted as second pastor. In November 1755, under an arrangement between themselves of which the government approved, Mr. Croeser went to Zwartland and Mr. Voltelen came to Capetown. In April 1758 Mr. Voltelen died, but his place was filled in November of the same year by the reverend Johannes Frederik Bode, who was sent out by the directors.

In March 1760 the reverend Johannes Petrus Serrurier arrived from Europe. The council of policy decided to keep him at Capetown and to send Mr. Bode to Waveren. But Mr. Bode declined to remove, on the ground that having been inducted as clergyman of Capetown he could not be required to fill a position of less dignity, without being found guilty of misconduct. Some members of the council were also of this view, but the majority suspended him from duty and stopped his pay until the opinion of the directors could be ascertained. The directors decided that his contention was just, and they issued instructions—which were received here in April 1761—that Mr. Serrurier should be inducted as third clergyman of Capetown, that Mr. Bode should resume duty as second clergyman and be paid his arrear salary, and that upon the first death or removal of either Mr. Kroonenburg, Mr. Bode, or Mr. Serrurier, no successor should be appointed. In December 1778 Mr. Kroonenburg retired on pension, owing to age and ill health, and he died in the following June. The directors now annulled their former decision, and sent out the reverend Christiaan Fleck, who was inducted as third clergyman of Capetown in January 1781. In July 1784 the number was again reduced to two by the death of the reverend Mr. Bode.

In September 1753 the reverend Johannes Appeldoorn arrived from Europe, and in the following month was stationed at Stellenbosch. In September 1772 he died, and the congregation was then left without other ministrations than those of a consulent until April 1777, when the reverend Philip Kuys arrived from Holland, and was appointed resident minister of Stellenbosch. Mr. Kuys died in February 1785, when the church was again for a time attended to by the clergyman of Drakenstein acting as consulent.

The church at Drakenstein was an arena of strife during the later years of this period. The election in January 1772 of Thomas Arnoldus Theron as an elder was objected to by a considerable section of the congregation, on the ground that he was not properly qualified, and the controversy soon became violent. Four of the opposite faction were excommunicated by the consistory. By 1775 the strife was so great that many persons refused to attend the services, and the disaffected party sent Messrs. Pieter Marais and Jan Roos to Holland, to bring their case before the directors and the classis of Amsterdam. Mr. Marais died soon after reaching the Netherlands. The directors declined to interfere in the matter, but the classis investigated the dispute, and tried to conciliate the opposing factions. The dissension in the congregation was continued, however, until March 1781, when Mr. Van der Spuy was obliged to retire on pension, owing to age and bodily infirmities. In April 1784 he was succeeded by the reverend Robert Nicolaas Aling, who was sent out by the directors.

In May 1757 Mr. Meyring, clergyman of Waveren, died. In January 1758 the commissioner Johan Gideon Looten, who was then at the Cape, removed the reverend Remmerus Harders from a ship of which he was chaplain, and sent him to minister to the congregation at Waveren until the place should be filled by an appointment from the Netherlands. In 1761 the directors issued instructions that Mr. Harders was to remain there permanently. In June 1774 his health broke down, and he was obliged to retire on a pension. The post remained vacant until April 1777, when the reverend Johannes Abraham Kuys arrived from the Netherlands, and was stationed at Waveren.

In May 1770 Mr. Croeser died at Zwartland. The three clergymen of Capetown then in turn held monthly services at that place until April 1774, when the reverend Daniel Goldbach arrived from the Netherlands, and was stationed there. Mr. Goldbach died in March 1783, and the church at Zwartland was then again left to the ministrations of a consulent.

Before 1780, except in occasional instances, no other public worship than that of the Dutch reformed church was tolerated in the colony, though the Lutherans, who were numerous in Capetown, had long been striving to obtain the consent of the government to their having a resident clergyman of their own faith. On a plot of ground facing Strand street a wealthy burgher named Martin Melk erected a building to be used as a church, and on the 6th of April 1774 presented it to the congregation by a notarial deed. It is the church still in use by the Dutch Lutherans, except the tower in front, which was not added until a much later date.

In 1778 the Lutherans sent in a memorial, in which they stated that in this building services had already been conducted with the governor's permission by chaplains of Danish and Swedish ships and also by the reverend Johannes Brandes, who was on his way to Batavia. They were then forming a fund from which the clergyman's salary could be paid, and they therefore requested that their memorial, in which they applied for permission to have a pastor, might be favourably submitted to the assembly of seventeen. In the following year their request was repeated, when they stated that their church building was valued at £3,000, that their ground, organ, furniture, etc., were worth £1,932 16*s.* 8*d.*, and that they had a subscribed fund of £4,571 9*s.* 4*d.*, from the interest of which the clergyman's salary could be paid.

The directors then acceded to their request, on condition that the Company should not be called upon to meet any portion of the expense, and the Lutheran church in Amsterdam was requested to select a clergyman, with the sole reservation that he should be a Netherlander by birth. The choice fell upon the reverend Andreas Kolver, who arrived in South Africa on the 22nd of November 1780, and on the 10th of December held service here for the first time.

On the 16th of December the establishment of the new congregation was completed by the approval of the council of policy of the elders and deacons that had been nominated. These were Tobias Christiaan Ronnenkamp, Johan Frederik Wilhelm Böttiger, Johan Frederik Kirsten, and Martin Melk as elders, and Frederik Godhold Holtzappel, Johan Michiel Seyd, Charles van Cahman, and Christiaan Hendrik Schrader as deacons.

In the staff of officers in the country districts the following changes had taken place:

In August 1773 Landdrost Faber, of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, died. The secretary of the district—Abraham Faure—acted until October, when Marthinus Adriaan Bergh was appointed landdrost. In December 1778 Mr. Bergh retired at his own request. His term of office had been marked by violent altercations with the burghers, and it had become impossible for him to hold the situation longer. He was succeeded by Olof Godlieb de Wet. In February 1782 Mr. De Wet was promoted to be master of the warehouses, and was succeeded as landdrost by Daniel van Ryneveld.

During Mr. Van Ryneveld's tenure of office the council of policy authorised the landdrost and heemraden to divide the old churchyard into building lots, and dispose of them for the benefit of the church and district. The site of the old church was alone reserved. It was enclosed by a wall built upon the foundations, which had not been disturbed since the fire that had destroyed the building. The alienation of the cemetery was repugnant to the feelings of many of the inhabitants, who threw the blame of the transaction entirely upon the landdrost. Even after his death several years later the matter was not allowed to be forgotten, and for a couple of generations children in the village heard from their elders tales of a spectral landdrost doomed at dead of every night to bewail the desecration he had committed.

In February 1776 Landdrost Mentz, of Swellendam, retired from the service at his own request, and Sergeant Pieter Diederik Boonaker was appointed by the council to succeed him. But upon this appointment being reported to the directors, they expressed their disapproval of it, on the ground that a new landdrost should have been chosen from the civil—not from the military—branch of their service. Sergeant Boonaker was therefore replaced in May 1777 by Daniel van Ryneveld. In February 1782 Mr. Van Ryneveld was transferred to Stellenbosch, and Constantyn van Nuld Onkruydt succeeded as landdrost of Swellendam.

In May 1774 Mr. Kirsten, the resident at Simonstown, was promoted, and the bookkeeper Christoffel Brand was appointed to succeed him.

The outposts at Saldanha Bay, Groenekloof, Klapmuts, Zonderend, and Buffeljagts River were still maintained. In July 1777 another was formed near Zwart River, in Outeniqualand, close to the site of the present village of George. A few soldiers were sent there, but the object was not so much to establish a military station as to assist a party of woodcutters who were employed in felling and preparing timber for the Company's use.

CHAPTER LI.

CORNELIS JACOB VAN DE GRAAFF, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 14TH FEBRUARY 1785, LEFT SOUTH AFRICA 24TH JUNE 1791.

COLONEL VAN DE GRAAFF had the reputation of being an able military officer, but his qualifications were small for such a situation as that of governor of the Cape Colony. He was arbitrary and headstrong in disposition, violent in temper, and careless in business matters. In addition to the salary and perquisites of his predecessor, which amounted to about £3,650, he had a special allowance of £1,500 a year. He had the official residence in the castle, the house in the gardens, and the country seat at Newlands. He was provided with carriages and horses, and had the produce of the farm Visser's Hok, besides the established table allowances.

On the 10th of May 1785 the memorials sent from the Cape five months previously were laid by the delegates of the burghers before the states-general of the Netherlands. By that body they were referred for report to the chamber of Zeeland. An informal conference of the leading members of the legislature and of the directorate of the Company was held, the result of which was that on the 28th of July the assembly of seventeen, while complaining that the Cape colonists gave more trouble than the inhabitants of all the Indian islands put together, announced that several changes would be made in the system of government.

The members of the council of policy were all to rank as senior merchants, and the secretary, who was not to have a voice in the proceedings, was to rank as a merchant. The high court of justice was to be presided over by the secunde, and was to consist besides of six servants of the Company and six burghers, all of whom were to rank as merchants. Its secretary was to rank as a junior merchant. Only members of the Dutch reformed church could sit in either the council of policy or the high court of justice; but Lutherans could be appointed to any other offices.

The Company would purchase and send to Europe all grain, wine, and other produce of the colony that could not be sold to foreigners, after the wants of the Cape and India had been supplied. The prices were to be fixed yearly by a board to be appointed by the council of policy from the members of the high court of justice, and to consist of three servants of the Company and three burghers. This board was also to propose to the council of policy the method and amount of taxation; it was to have the care of roads, bridges, and other colonial works; it was to let the public mills, to employ watchmen for the town, and to perform various municipal duties.

The council was directed to report upon the likelihood of obtaining produce at various bays, pending the receipt of which report no decision would be arrived at concerning a coasting trade.

The request of the frontier colonists to have a landdrost and a clergyman stationed among them was to be complied with, and a new district was to be created, with a board of heemraden similar to those of Stellenbosch and Swellendam.

All the governing bodies in the Netherlands were agreed that the system thus introduced should have a fair trial, so no further redress was to be had from the states-general.

In the mean time, however, the colonists resolved to send another deputation to Holland to press their charges, and on the 8th of March 1785 the committee elected in the preceding December, to which Hillegard Mulder was now added, appointed Marthinus Adriaan Bergh, Jan Roos, Jan Hendrik Redelinghuys, and Jan Augustus Bresler, delegates to proceed to the Netherlands and continue to urge their complaints before the states-general. About £1,800 was contributed by the burghers to defray the expense of this mission. But the delegates hardly reached Europe before they began to quarrel among themselves. In December they brought their dissensions before the public in letters published in the leading Dutch newspapers, and from that moment their influence was at an end.

Messrs. Roos, Redelinghuys, and Bresler then took upon themselves to dismiss their associate, Mr. Bergh. On the 4th of April 1786 they appeared before the states-general with a petition for leave to present a statement of grievances, but were very coolly received, and could not obtain what they desired. Their conduct gave much dissatisfaction to the colonists, and when they requested that further sums of money might be forwarded, the committee at the Cape declined to supply them with more. A series of very bitter letters passed between the delegates and the members of the committee, and as this correspondence was published, not only was no good effected by the mission, but positive harm was done to the cause of the colonists by its being brought into disrepute.

The change in the high court of justice was made in March 1786. One of the three councillors under the old system retired at that time, and out of eight names presented by the court, the council selected Christiaan George Maasdorp, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jan Coenraad Gie, and Hendrik Justinus de Wet to make the number of burghers up to six.

The board that was to fix prices and perform so many other duties was established at the same time. It consisted of six members of the high court of justice, three of whom—Gerrit Hendrik Kruywagen, Salomon van Echten, and Jan Marthinus Horak—were servants of the Company; the other three—Jan Smuts, Andries van Sittert, and Christiaan George Maasdorp—being burghers. This board was a failure from the very first. The officials and burghers could not work amicably together, and everything proposed by one party was objected to by the other. As for fixing prices of produce, it had no opportunity of making trial of its ability. The harvest of 1785 entirely failed, owing to protracted drought, and when in 1786 the ship *Negotie* arrived from Amsterdam to take in a cargo of wheat and wine, there was not a muid of grain to be had, and the government was obliged to send her to Batavia in ballast. The directors were thus disappointed, and the plan was never again brought forward.

In its stead, in October 1789 the directors gave the colonists permission to export wine to Holland, provided it was sent in their vessels, and £1 13*s.* 4*d.*—shortly afterwards increased to £2 13*s.* 4*d.*—a legger freight paid upon it.

For its own purposes the Company from this time forward did not purchase more than seven hundred and sixty leggers yearly, of which about half was needed for its establishments in the colony and the other half for India and the fleets.

There being a large profit to be made on wheat, the Company endeavoured to procure as much of that article as possible for the European market. In 1786 it was necessary to import flour from Europe and rice from Java to ward off actual famine; but in that year the long drought broke up, and in 1787 and later there was a considerable surplus of grain in the colony.

To encourage its growth in the district of Swellendam, a magazine was built at Mossel Bay, where the grain was received, so that the long overland journey to the Cape was saved to the farmers. The first cargo shipped at that port was in July 1788, when the Company's yacht *Johanna Jacoba* was laden with wheat for Batavia. It was purchased by the officer stationed there at 9*s.* 7⅕*d.* a muid, after the tithe was deducted, which was the price given at the Cape. But after 1789 the price at Mossel Bay was reduced to 7*s.* 2⅖*d.* a muid, after the deduction of the tithe, the difference between that and the price given at the Cape being set against the cost of sending vessels specially for it.

In the same year a magazine for storage of timber was opened at Plettenberg's Bay, the post at Zwart River having been broken up and the men removed to the forest nearest the bay. Mr. Jan Frederik Meding was placed in charge of the magazine. The first cargo of timber was shipped in August 1788, when the Cape packet *Meermin,* of which the chevalier François Duminy was master, was laden with waggon wood and material for gun carriages.

Nothing except timber, however, was taken from this port. Some farmers in its neighbourhood offered to supply aloes at 5½*d.* to 6⅘*d.* a kilogramme, to be delivered at the bay, but as the Company's storekeeper in Capetown received as a perquisite 4⅖*d.* a kilogramme commission on all that was brought for sale to the magazine under his charge, he found means to prevent any being purchased elsewhere for exportation.

In 1785 an event took place which caused the governor no little anxiety. On the 7th of May of that year the English Indiaman *Pigot,* homeward bound from Madras, put into St. Francis Bay in distress. She landed about one hundred sick people, and from the farmers in the neighbourhood abundance of provisions was purchased for their use as well as for consumption by those who remained on board. The ship lay at anchor there until the 30th of the month, during which time she was repaired and to a considerable extent revictualled.

On board this ship were several military officers returning home, one of whom, Colonel Dalrymple, had his family with him. These officers hired waggons from the farmers, with which they travelled overland to Capetown, and they were believed to have made minute observations of the condition of the country along the route. The French, when they came here as friends, were known to have prepared military maps, and now the English were held to possess the same information. The matter was discussed by the council, and it was regarded as of such importance that it was resolved to land a hundred soldiers from the first ships that called with troops on board and to station detachments at Mossel Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, St. Francis Bay, and Algoa Bay.

But this resolution could not be carried out, because no soldiers were obtainable for the purpose, and all that could be done was to set up stone beacons, with the arms of the Netherlands and the Company's monogram on them, at important points where none were standing before. One of these beacons, originally placed at the outstation close to the site of the present village of George, is now in the museum at Capetown.

When Governor Van de Graaff arrived in South Africa, the construction of the Amsterdam battery was so far advanced that he was unable to alter the design, though he considered it faulty. He therefore completed it, and in February 1787 the guns were mounted. On the 23rd of that month the first trial of the armament was made, when one of the cannon burst, and two men were killed and five badly wounded. The governor, who was standing close by, was also slightly hurt.

A battery was then built in Rogge Bay, and after its completion some additions to the old battery Chavonnes were commenced. The remaining forts in Table Valley were repaired. The earthen embankment thrown up by the French troops in 1781 between Fort Knokke and the Devil's peak—commonly called the French lines—was strengthened, as was also the line between the castle and Fort Knokke.

A great deal of attention was devoted to practice with red hot cannon balls, and it was believed that the artillerymen at the Cape were as proficient in their use as any in the world. The system of allowing soldiers to take temporary employment with farmers was continued, but this custom did not extend to engineers or gunners. It was very severely commented upon by critics such as Van Braam Houckgeest, who asserted that the officers regarded the money saved as their perquisite, and did not credit the Company with it. This, however, was almost certainly a gross exaggeration.

In the summer of 1787-8 the regiment of Wurtemburg—a body of mercenary troops two thousand strong—arrived at the Cape to relieve the Swiss regiment of Meuron, which proceeded to Colombo. The garrison included also the national battalion, as it was called, under Colonel Gordon, about six hundred strong, and four hundred engineers and artillerymen.

As landdrost of the new district, to the formation of which the directors had consented, on the 13th of December 1785 the council of policy appointed an old burgher resident in the village of Stellenbosch, named Maurits Herman Otto Woeke, who was believed to be a man of sound judgment. He was directed to make a tour along the border, to select a site for his court, and to report fully to the council. The district at the same time had the name Graaff-Reinet given to it, in honour of the governor and his lady.

The boundaries were decided upon, but were not made known until the 19th of July 1786, when a placaat was published concerning them. They were: on the west the Little Lion river from its source in the Nieuwveld mountains to its junction with the Gamka, the Gamka to the Zwartebergen, the northern base of the Zwartebergen to the source of the Brak river, the Brak to its junction with the Gamtoos, and the Gamtoos to the sea; on the east the Tarka river, the Baviaans' river to its junction with the Fish, and the Fish river to the sea. On the north the boundary was undefined, the only fixed point being the beacon placed by Governor Van Plettenberg on the bank of the Zeekoe river.

As the best site for the public offices, Mr. Woeke selected two farms near the source of the Sunday river, then in occupation of a burgher named Dirk Coetsee, who agreed to dispose of the buildings on them for about £530, and to accept land of equal extent elsewhere. This arrangement was ratified by the council. In July 1786 a board of six heemraden was appointed, two of whom were thereafter to retire every year, and to be succeeded by others selected by the council of policy from a double nomination. The first members were Adriaan van Jaarsveld, David de Villiers, David Schalk van der Merwe, Andries Pieter Burger, Josua Joubert, and Jacobus Gustaf Triegard. In October the landdrost opened his court for the first time.

Shortly afterwards a schoolmaster, who was also to act as a comforter of the sick until the arrival of a clergyman, was sent to the new drostdy. In September 1791 the directors engaged the reverend Jan Hendrik von Manger to minister to the people of Graaff-Reinet, but when he arrived in South Africa no instructions had been received concerning him, and the council therefore resolved to keep him in Capetown until despatches should come to hand. Thus he did not commence his duties until October 1792. Steps were taken, however, in anticipation to establish a consistory at Graaff-Reinet, and on the 13th of March 1792 the council approved of Marthinus Wessel Pretorius and Jan Jacobsen as elders, and selected from a double nomination Andries Pretorius and Barend Burger as deacons of the newly-formed congregation.

The district was of such immense extent that many of the parishioners could only attend the services at very long intervals, some for instance needing three weeks to a month for the journey to and from their homes. Mr. Von Manger considered he was fulfilling his duty if he conducted public worship regularly at the drostdy, and put himself to no trouble in travelling about. In consequence he never acquired much influence with the frontier farmers.

In the new district, cattle breeding was almost the only pursuit of the Europeans. Until building sites were given out in the village of Graaff-Reinet, there was no ground held under any other tenure than that of yearly lease. Once in a twelvemonth each family who could do so sent a waggon laden with butter and soap to Capetown to procure household requisites; but the people, without feeling it a hardship, managed to live with very few imported articles. From long warfare with savages, their habits of self-reliance were highly developed, and they were exceedingly averse to restraint.

It was intended by the government that the district should be nearly self-supporting, that is, it was to cost the Company very little for defence or maintenance. Funds for local purposes were to be raised, as in Stellenbosch and Swellendam, by a yearly tax of one shilling and four pence for every hundred sheep and one penny for every head of horned cattle, besides special rates when necessary.

The struggle for existence carried on with the Bushmen in the new district was constant, and on neither side was any quarter shown or indeed possible. The reports of murders of Europeans and farm servants, of depredations and reprisals, are wearisome to read, and it would need volumes to repeat them all, without any clearer idea being given of the nature of the warfare than can be conveyed in a few sentences. No European dared venture an hour's ride from his homestead without arms in his hand. From four farms adjoining the drostdy the cattle were swept off within a few weeks after the arrival of the landdrost. The Hottentots near the coast suffered even more severely than the Europeans, whole clans being ruined, and numerous individuals being tortured to death by

Bushmen. On the other hand, commandos of Europeans and Hottentots were almost constantly engaged hunting the wild aborigines in the mountains, and shooting down all who would not surrender. The government provided ammunition, but nothing else. Captive women and children were distributed among the farmers in the vain hope of compelling them to live by industry, but they invariably made their escape after a short detention, and returned to their predatory habits. This was the normal condition of things throughout the district of Graaff-Reinet and along the northern border of the district of Stellenbosch.

Mr. Woeke was instructed by the council to visit the principal Xosa chiefs in the neighbourhood of the colony, to assure them of the friendship of the government, and to make them presents of brass wire, beads, and other articles of small value which they were known to prize highly. He was ordered to take great care that the Fish river was observed as the boundary, and that no Europeans crossed it or molested the Xosas in any way. The bartering of cattle by the colonists was strictly forbidden.

The condition of the Xosa tribe at this time was such that it was difficult to make any satisfactory arrangements. Since the first Kaffir war, the chief Rarabe had been killed in an engagement with a Tembu army. His great son, Umlawu by name, died before him, and left as heir a lad of tender years. Upon Rarabe's death, his counsellors selected his son Ndlambe as regent during the minority of Gaika, heir of Umlawu. This was in accordance with custom, and there was no other person who could be appointed; but the clans that had crossed the Kei before Rarabe maintained that with his death their vassalage ceased, except to Gcaleka, the paramount head of the whole tribe. There was thus a great deal of jealousy and discontent among the chiefs.

Mr. Woeke had a meeting with Ndlambe, who expressed himself desirous of living in peace and friendship with the white people, and presents were exchanged between them. The landdrost reported, however, that a rupture between the two races could easily take place. There were Xosas in service with farmers all over the country, even to within two days' journey of the village of Swellendam, and the colonists were unwilling to part with them. A single case of ill treatment might at any moment bring on hostilities. Not a few lawless individuals also were engaged in the forbidden cattle trade, and as they were not accustomed to restraint, mere placaats had no terrors for them. With fifty or sixty soldiers stationed in posts along the Fish river, it would be possible to maintain order; but without physical force to support the law, the irregularities complained of would continue.

The condition of suspense described by the landdrost lasted until March 1789, when a large body of Xosas, headed by the chiefs Langa, Cungwa, and others of less note, suddenly crossed the Fish river, and spread over the Zuurveld. The farmers fled before the invaders, but were unable to save the whole of their cattle. The landdrost immediately instructed the burgher captain Daniel Willem Kuhne to take measures for the defence of the district, and despatched an express to Capetown with a report that war was unavoidable and a request that the council would send a hundred soldiers to his assistance.

Mr. Woeke's letter reached Capetown on the 20th of March. The council at once met, and came to a decision that war with the Xosas must be avoided at any price. The landdrost was censured for giving instructions to call out a commando for defence, as a collision might be the result. The secretary of the district—Jan Jacob Wagener by name—had tendered his resignation some time previously, and the council now appointed a clerk named Honoratus Christiaan Maynier to succeed him. Both of these men were deeply read in the works of the French philosophers of the day, and, in defiance of what observation should have taught them, professed to believe that simplicity and innocence are virtues of barbarian life. Mr. Maynier further was especially careful to keep in the good graces of his superiors for the time being, so that he could be depended upon to carry out the views of the government. The council appointed the landdrost with the new and retiring secretaries a commission to arrange matters with the Xosas who had overrun the Zuurveld, and they were plainly instructed to buy the enemy off with goods supplied to them for the purpose.

In the mean time Captain Kuhne had raised a commando, which was no sooner in the field than the invaders, without waiting to be attacked, fell back to the Fish river, which they found in flood, so that they were unable to cross. They were lying on the bank, and the burgher commando was approaching, when the instructions of the council were received by the landdrost. He put on record his opinion that a mistake fatal to the future tranquillity of the country was being made, and forwarded to the council a letter to that effect; but he carried out his orders with as much zeal as if they had been in accordance with his own views. The commando was at once discharged. Not a shot had been fired in retaliation for the losses sustained by the invasion, nor a single head of cattle recovered, so the burghers were indignant and almost mutinous when they were required to disband.

As soon as the new secretary Maynier arrived at Graaff-Reinet with the goods provided by the government, the members of the commission made ready to visit the Zuurveld and seek an interview with the chiefs. On the 7th of June they left the village, accompanied by the heemraden Josua Joubert and Jacobus Gustaf Triegard, the militia captains Jan du Plessis and Andries Burger, the militia adjutant Barend Lindeque, and the burghers Pieter Lindeque and Roelof Kampher, all men well known for their friendly disposition towards the Xosas in former years. Upon arriving at the Kowie river, they found the stream swollen by heavy rains which had recently fallen, so they encamped on its bank, and sent some Hottentots to request the Gunukwebe chief Tshaka to pay them a visit.

On the 21st of June the Hottentots returned with several petty Xosa captains, who informed the landdrost that Tshaka and his son Cungwa were unable to travel, on account of sickness in their families; but they had been sent to hear what the white men had to say. With this characteristic Bantu address, they presented two oxen in the name of the chief Tshaka. The landdrost asked why they had invaded the colony. They replied that they did not regard their action as an invasion, because they considered the country between the Fish river and the Kowie their own, as they had purchased it some years before from a Hottentot named Ruiter.

The landdrost asked them if they were not aware that after the war of 1781 the Amambala chief Langa, the Imidange chief Mahuta, the Amantinde chief Cika, and the Amagwali chief Koba—the same people who were now with the Gunukwebe clan in the colony—had consented to the Fish river being the boundary between the two races. They did not deny that it was so, but said they were willing to pay as much tribute to the government for the district between the Fish river and the Kowie as the farmers had paid rent. And in language that bore but one meaning they declined to give up possession of it. The commission sent large presents of copper plates, brass wire, knives, etc., to the chiefs, but could not induce them to retire to their own country.

Finding their efforts useless, Messrs. Woeke and Maynier with the burghers returned to Graaff-Reinet, leaving Mr. Wagener to arrange matters as best he could. Just at this time a rumour reached the Xosas that the farmers away towards Swellendam were going into lager, and remembering the prelude to Van Jaarsveld's campaign of 1781, they were seized with a sudden panic. Not only did they retire in haste beyond the Fish river, but many of them fled far beyond it, and concealed themselves in the thickets of the Amatola mountains.

This was the condition of things when Mr. Wagener, attended by an escort of twelve armed men, on the 18th of July met the chief Cungwa and a party of Xosas at a ford of the Fish river. Cungwa pressed his claim to the ground as far as the Kowie, basing his pretensions upon its purchase from the Hottentot captain Ruiter, who was little better than a freebooter, and whose only right to sell was derived from a brief occupation.* Mr. Wagener declined to admit that Ruiter's sale was binding upon the Europeans, but to remove the grievance, he offered to refund to the Xosas as much as they had paid for the district. Cungwa would not agree to this proposal. Mr. Wagener then consented to the return of the Xosas and to their occupation of the land between the Fish river and the Kowie during the pleasure of the government, without prejudice to the ownership of the Europeans. With his report to this effect to the board of landdrost and heemraden of Graaff-Reinet on the 3rd of August 1789, ends the official account of the second Kaffir invasion of the colony and of its disastrous consequences to the farmers.

In documents issued by the government the arrangement made by Mr. Wagener was henceforth termed a restoration of peace and quietness; but the burghers of Graaff-Reinet chose to call it by a very different name. Almost any other people in the world would have abandoned a district exposed to such ruinous losses as those sustained by the hardy and persevering frontier colonists at this period. But they were determined to hold their own. In the neighbourhood of the Xosas they guarded their herds with arms in their hands, while along the great mountain range they were continually struggling with the Bushmen.

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*Ruiter, or Kohla as he was called by his followers, was a member of a western Hottentot tribe, though he had much Bushman blood in his veins. He had fled from the place of his birth to escape punishment for a murder he had committed, and in the Zuurveld had gathered a number of Bushmen and desperadoes of mixed Hottentot and Bushman blood about him, over whom he exercised despotic authority. For several years he was a source of terror to the Bantu clans beyond the Fish river, whom he robbed of many cattle. Ultimately most of his followers abandoned him, and he was then obliged to try to conciliate those whom he had previously despoiled.

The wild, free, healthy life which they led had many charms for people of adventurous disposition, and several travellers contrasted it favourably with the dull routine of the farmers' existence in European countries. Comfortable and well-furnished houses were not to be found on the frontier, for no one cared to build or to buy what might be destroyed the next day; but there was no lack of food or of other first necessaries of life.

The burghers were constantly complaining that they received from the Company nothing in return for the rents which they paid and the tithes of such produce as they accounted for. They had another grievance in the paper money. The butchers at the Cape were in the habit of sending out agents to purchase slaughter cattle, and these had always given in payment notes of hand of their employers. The farmers who now took these notes to Capetown received only paper money, which was by law a legal tender. In the interior the paper was almost worthless, for, in addition to its not being redeemable at pleasure, so many forged notes were in existence that people were afraid of it.

After 1789 there was very little respect paid to the government authorities in the district of Graaff-Reinet. Mr. Woeke became addicted to drunkenness, and allowed a violent temper to become his master. On several occasions he poured out torrents of abuse upon the heemraden and militia officers, which they were not slow to resent. He and the secretary Maynier were also continually quarrelling, and the latter, being a favourite with the government, did not scruple to irritate his superior officer.

The condition of the district was thus very little removed from anarchy.

In the district of Swellendam matters were almost as bad. Many of the farmers had fallen in arrear with their land rents, which, in fact, some of them took little trouble to pay, though the government was willing to receive cattle instead of money. The landdrost Onkruydt, after getting the district accounts into inextricable confusion and allowing the public buildings to fall into ruin, resigned and returned to the Netherlands, when the secretary of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein—Anthony Alexander Faure—was appointed to succeed him, 21st of April 1789. Mr. Faure did his utmost to restore order in his office, but was unable to do so. The people of this district were, however, comparatively free from robberies by Bushmen and Xosas, and were therefore in more comfortable circumstances than their friends on the northern and eastern borders.

The district of Stellenbosch was more populous than either of the others. Along its northern border, warfare with Bushmen was constant, and the colonists were in the same condition as those of Graaff-Reinet. But in the long-settled parts of the district the people were living in comfort and ease. Many of the substantial dwelling houses erected before and during this period remained until our own times, as did also the oaks and other trees with which the homesteads were beautified. The life led by the owners of the largest of these establishments was that of country gentlemen all over the civilised world, a healthy, enjoyable, useful life. The rough labour of the farms was performed by African slaves under direction of European overseers; the mechanical work, such as that of the carpenter, mason, and cooper, was chiefly executed by natives of the Indian islands, either free or slave. In August 1785, upon the death of Mr. Van Ryneveld, Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman was appointed landdrost of the district.

Capetown at this period was a very different place from what it had been in earlier times. With the arrival of the French troops in 1781 an expensive fashion of living had set in, and every one was now striving to become possessed of a handsome house filled with costly furniture and a retinue of useless slaves. All kinds of European wares were introduced in Danish ships, and were sold at enormous profits. House property, slaves, and horses had within sixteen years increased in price from fifty to a hundred per cent. The directors at Amsterdam became alarmed when they ascertained what large amounts were due in Holland for house furniture alone purchased on credit, and complained that Capetown was becoming known to travellers as "Little Paris." Money seemed plentiful, and every one forgot that the apparent prosperity was based upon the insecure foundation of military expenditure.

The governor, Colonel Van de Graaff, lived in the most extravagant manner at the expense of the Company. The stables, which in Van Plettenberg's time contained sixty-six horses, were now provided with double that number; and carriages, from a state coach and a travelling waggon to a light two-wheeled fly, were multiplied to an unreasonable number. The governor's son, Captain Sebastiaan Willem van de Graaff, was appointed master of the stables, and was left to do almost as he pleased. This establishment was supposed to be kept up for general purposes, but was in reality maintained for the almost exclusive use of the governor's family, friends, and dependents. Everything else was in the same style, reckless waste of the Company's effects being entirely disregarded.

The public expenditure or the money paid out of the Company's chest for all purposes at the Cape now reached a sum of rather over £120,000 a year.

The revenue had gone on steadily increasing from £17,274 in 1781 to £28,912 in 1791, the increase being due chiefly to the larger sums paid for the right to sell wines and spirits and to a different manner of collecting the tithes of grain. In former years the farmers were required to make statements as to the quantity of grain gathered by them, and upon these statements the tithes were charged. The standard of truth with regard to such returns was very low, just as it is to-day in the matter of returns for municipal taxation. For instance, there were years when the quantity of wheat exported was considerably in excess of the quantity grown according to the census rolls. But recently a system had been introduced of collecting actual tithes either in money or in kind upon all grain passing the barrier into town, and it was found to give a much larger revenue to government, although the whole quantity consumed in the country districts became exempt from taxation. The total revenue received from the 1st of July 1781 to the 1st of July 1791 was £221,075, or at the rate of £22,107 10*s*. yearly. It was made up of the following items:

Licenses to sell wines and spirits, sold yearly by public auction, and the export duty on sales of wines and spirits to foreigners, also farmed out	£105,227
Rent of £4 16s. each on ordinary cattle farms	42,784
Tax of 12*s*. on each legger of wine brought to town	26,255
Transfer dues on sales of land, at 10 per cent on the purchase amount when the property had been held for less than 3 years, 5 per cent when it had been held from 3 to 10 years, and 2½ per cent when it had been held over 10 years; also since July 1790 2½ per cent on sales of improvements on leaseholds	21,835
Stamps	12,521
Tithes of grain	9,519
Rent of £4 16*s*. each on cattle farms held in connection with freeholds under Van Imhoff's tenure	1,814
Freight and insurance from Mossel Bay	855
Rent of garden plots at 2*s*. a morgen	265
Total revenue during ten years	£221,075

The profits on the sale of goods out of the Company's stores were on an average about £6,200. There was thus a deficiency to be made good of nearly £92,000 a year, and the Company was at this time almost hopelessly insolvent. Its debt in 1785 was nearly seven million pounds sterling, and the states provincial of Holland and Zeeland were obliged to come to its rescue, or it would have sunk under the burden. These provinces became security for heavy loans, besides raising by a special tax a sum of about two and a half millions sterling, which money was lent upon low interest to the Company, in order that it might have a chance of recovering itself. Its condition was commonly attributed to losses during the war with England, but there were many men in the Netherlands as well as in the Indies who knew that the corruption of its own officers had quite as much to do with its decline.

From sheer inability to raise more money, in 1790 the Company was obliged to reduce its expenditure greatly. On the 10th of October of that year the directors issued orders that the regiment of Wurtemburg was to be sent to Java immediately, and that all work upon fortifications was to be stopped. They admitted that the remaining troops were insufficient for the defence of the Cape in the event of war, but they were helpless in the matter. A few days later they gave instructions that the military outposts in the country districts should be abandoned and the stations be sold, that the country seat used by the governor at Newlands should be sold, that their slaves should be reduced in number to four hundred and fifty, that all the mechanics and sailors who could be spared should be sent to Batavia, and that the horses and vehicles of all kinds in their stables should at once be disposed of and the proceeds be paid into the treasury.

The governor had never given them satisfaction. They complained that he kept them in ignorance of everything that it was important they should know, while forwarding despatches covering hundreds of pages of foolscap and containing nothing that could not be told in a few sentences. This complaint was thoroughly well founded.

After the governor's departure, the council informed the directors that he had kept the whole staff of clerks in the secretary's office engaged in writing and copying these worse than useless letters. They were also greatly displeased with his extravagance, though they were still ignorant of the full cost of his administration. His quarrelsome disposition was another objectionable feature, and his arbitrary conduct in issuing orders and incurring expense without consulting the council was strongly disapproved of.

And certainly the directors had cause to complain, for the government of the colony had never before sunk so low in the estimation of those who came in contact with it. In August 1786 Mr. Hacker had retired at his own request, and had been succeeded as secunde by Johan Isaac Rhenius, a member of an old South African family, but whose life had been passed chiefly in the Company's service in India. The fiscal Serrurier had died in May 1785, and in February 1789 the baron Jan Nicolaas van Lynden arrived from the Netherlands and assumed the duty. Between these officers quarrels were continuous. To the colonists the government appeared corrupt almost beyond power of expression, and the bickerings of the principal officers called forth contempt as well as hatred. During the debates in the council, violent scenes often took place. On one occasion the governor in a passion drew his sword and would have wounded the dispenser Le Sueur, if the latter had not warded off the blow with his cane. The proceedings, as recorded, contain protests and counter protests in great profusion.

Out of the council, these wretched disputes affected all classes of the community, and discord prevailed everywhere. Whole reams of paper are filled with records of petty quarrels of no interest to any one now. A single instance of the depth to which the representative of the Company descended will be sufficient as an illustration. In a sermon upon Jezebel the reverend Mr. Serrurier gave offence to the governor, who maintained that his lady was pointedly alluded to. Shortly afterwards a committee of the high court of justice was appointed to name the new streets and squares of the town, when Berg street—now St. George's—upon which the parsonage fronted, was changed to Venus street, and the signboard was nailed above the clergyman's door. Mr. Serrurier protested, but without avail, and it was only after the governor left the colony that the old name of Berg street was restored.

The directors were desirous of dismissing the governor, but the stadtholder, with whom he was a favourite, would not consent, and at that time the stadtholder's power as governor-general of the East India Company was greater than it had ever been before, owing to the political revolution which had recently taken place in the Netherlands. The inhabitants of that country were divided into two parties, one of which was in favour of democratic government and alliance with France, the other in favour of the government of the stadtholder and alliance with England. The first of these was supreme in 1785, and in November of that year a treaty of close alliance with France was concluded. The arrest of the princess of Orange, who was a sister of the king of Prussia, on her attempting to enter the Hague in June 1787, brought into the country a Prussian army, which was welcomed by the conservative faction, and the government of the stadtholder was restored. In April 1788 a treaty of mutual defence was entered into between the government of England and the states-general, and in the same year a triple alliance was concluded between Great Britain, Prussia, and the Netherlands.

The stadtholder, as governor-general of the East India Company, would only agree to the recall of Van de Graaff under pretence of his being required at home to give information upon the colony. To this effect a despatch, written by the directors on the 14th of October 1790, arrived here on the 10th of the following February, in which the governor was instructed to leave for Europe within three months after its receipt, and to transfer the administration during his absence to the secunde Rhenius. The three months expired, and the governor was still in Capetown. The secunde and his party in the council protested against this disobedience of the orders of the directors and the detention of a first-class Indiaman in Table Bay during the winter season; but the governor took his own time. When he was ready, on the 24th of June 1791, he issued instructions to Mr. Rhenius how to act during his absence, and embarked in the *Beverwyk.*

Colonel Van de Graaff returned to Holland, where he retained the title of governor of the Cape Colony and received his salary as such, although early in 1793 he resumed his duty in the national army. In 1794 he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed director of fortifications from the Waal to the Zuiderzee, when he resigned his situation in the Company's service. The revolution a few months later deprived him of employment, on account of his adherence to the stadtholder's cause, and he retired to Germany, where he died in 1812.

The fiscal Van Lynden returned to Europe in the same ship with the governor, without leave from either the directors or the Cape council. On his arrival in the Netherlands, he stated that he dared not remain in South Africa after Van de Graaff's departure, as there would certainly be an insurrection, when his life—or his limbs at least—would be in danger. He went on board the *Beverwyk* during the night, leaving his wife at the Cape. The governor's son—Captain Sebastiaan Willem van de Graaff—was married to his daughter, and this family connection enabled him to act in a most despotic manner. On one occasion a white man was put to torture, who, to be relieved of pain, confessed himself guilty of a crime of which he was afterwards proved to be innocent, but for which he suffered punishment. In October 1789 the directors issued instructions that a duty of five per cent upon the value of all articles imported or exported, except by themselves, should be levied for the benefit of the Company; but these instructions were not carried out, because the fiscal had previously imposed the same charges for his own benefit, and continued to collect and keep the money, under the plea that it was a legitimate perquisite of his office.

Upon Mr. Van Lynden's desertion of his post, the council appointed Mr. Jacob Pieter de Nys to act as fiscal until the pleasure of the directors could be made known.

The instructions concerning the breaking up of the military posts in the interior were carried out. The horses and all the varied contents of the Company's stables in Capetown were disposed of by public auction to the highest bidder. The country seat at Newlands, which had been the favourite residence of Father Tulbagh and had been used by both the succeeding governors, was purchased by Mr. Hendrik Vos for £4,400. The country seat of Rustenburg, at Rondebosch, was retained. It had been occasionally used by the secunde in Tulbagh's time, and constantly ever since; but two-thirds of the wine made from its vineyards had been claimed by the governors as a perquisite, the remaining third being left to the secunde. From its extensive gardens, cultivated by the Company's slaves, both the governor and the secunde had drawn all the vegetables needed in their establishments, after which whatever was left was sent to the hospital. The estates Groenekloof, Ziekenhuis, and some smaller ones could not be sold, because no one was desirous of purchasing them.

When the work on the fortifications was stopped, the enlargements of the battery Chavonnes, designed by Governor Van de Graaff, were not quite completed. A battery which he had planned between the castle and the Devil's peak, and which had been named the Coehoorn, was only a little advanced beyond the foundations. The battery Gordon, built in 1781-2 at the upper end of the line of earthworks between Fort Knokke and the Devil's peak, was greatly out of repair. The remaining fortifications in Table Valley were in good order. The new hospital was not yet finished, though it had cost the Company nearly £52,000, exclusive of slave labour.

The census returns of 1791 show the population of the colony as consisting of three thousand six hundred and thirteen European burghers, with two thousand four hundred and sixty married women, and six thousand nine hundred and fifty-five children; thirty-nine European men servants; four hundred and fifty-six European men—exclusive of soldiers—in the Company's service, with two hundred and ninety-one married women, and seven hundred and sixty children; and eleven thousand and twenty-six men slaves, three thousand six hundred and eighty-seven women slaves, and two thousand six hundred and eighty-three slave children, belonging to the Company and to private individuals. No mention is made of free blacks or of Hottentots in the returns.

CHAPTER LII.

JOHAN ISAAC RHENIUS, SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 24TH JUNE 1791 TO 3RD JULY 1792.

SEBASTIAAN CORNELIS NEDERBURGH AND SIMON HENDRIK FRYKENIUS, COMMISSIONERS-GENERAL, 3RD JULY 1792 TO 2ND SEPTEMBER 1793.

ANOTHER great change was notified by the directors in March 1791. They had abandoned the exportation of all European wares on their own account, except to China and Japan, and had thrown that trade open to private individuals upon payment of customs duties. Foreigners, however, were not to be allowed to take part in it. From the Cape, wine could be exported by private individuals, and in February 1791 permission to send a cargo of wheat to Europe was accorded by the council to the burgher Tieleman Roos, of Drakenstein.

For several years there had been an impression among certain burghers that gold was to be found in large quantities in the desert region north of the Orange river and bordering on the Atlantic. It was currently reported and believed that the English traveller Paterson had discovered rich ore there, though he had not made his discovery known. Mr. Sebastiaan Valentyn van Reenen, who accompanied Lieutenant Paterson on one of his excursions, had really become possessed of a piece of ore or rock from which a chemist extracted some grains of gold, though the place where the substance had been found was unknown.

Fired with the idea of making a discovery that would enrich himself and benefit his native country, Mr. Willem van Reenen, of the farm Zeekoevlei, on the Elephant river, with the permission of the council fitted out an exploring expedition at his own expense, and on the 17th of September 1791 set out for the north. He had with him as companions Messrs. Pieter Brand, Adriaan Louw, Barend Freyn, and Frederik Wysman, besides several half-breeds and a large party of Hottentots.

On the 30th of October he crossed the Great river, and on the 18th of November rested at the farthest point reached by Captain Hop's expedition in 1761. The country was parched by heat and drought, Bushmen and lions were very troublesome, and the oxen were beginning to die; but Van Reenen and his companions still pushed on. On the 23rd of January 1792 they reached a mountain, where was a spring of very hot water, from which the flow was so great that several morgen of ground might be irrigated. Copper ore was found there.

During the night after their arrival they were attacked by a party of Namaquas, who killed two of their Hottentots and wounded a slave; but next morning the chief of the attacking party sent to say that the assault had been made by mistake, and presented three oxen and four sheep as a peace offering. The name of the chief is not given, but his people are called the Godousies. It is not possible to connect that title with any clan now living in the country. The mountain had until recently been in possession of the Ovaherero or Damaras, but the Namaquas were then masters of it. Mr. Van Reenen named it Mount Rhenius. At this place a camp was formed, while the country around was explored. In the diary of the expedition there are no indications by which the locality can be identified, except those here given; but from an observation in another document, it is found to have been within easy reach of Walfish Bay.

Pieter Brand with a party of Hottentots pushed on fifteen days' journey farther, and made himself well acquainted with the condition of the Damaras, who belong to the Bantu family, and of the Namaquas, who are Hottentots. The Damaras had been conquered by the Namaquas, and had been deprived of their horned cattle, goats, and sheep. They informed Mr. Brand that he would yet have to travel nine days before he would find Damaras in possession of cattle. They had been able to hold their own, they said, until the Namaquas obtained iron in large quantities from the south, when they had been subjugated. Copper rings of their own manufacture were plentiful with them.

Mr. Brand also met with black people living like Bushmen on nothing but game and roots, but speaking a dialect of the Hottentot language. This is the earliest notice of the people now commonly called Berg Damaras, whose condition was long a mystery to travellers. No subsequent inquirer until very recently learnt more than Pieter Brand put on record: that they are Bantu by blood, Hottentots by language, and Bushmen by habit. On the 14th of March the party moved from Mount Rhenius to a place close by, which they named Modderfontein. Here they remained until the 23rd of April. There was abundance of game in the neighbourhood, and they had plenty of food. Of rhinoceroses alone they killed sixty-five, and of giraffes six. Having laden the waggons with ore which they believed contained gold, but which on their arrival at the Cape was proved to be copper, they turned homeward. On the way they visited a clan of Namaquas called in the diary the Keykous, who can be identified with the people now known as the red nation. The name of the chief is given by Mr. Van Reenen as Nonbelo, but the colonial Hottentots called him Roode Mos. He was very friendly, bringing four oxen as a present, and offering to assist the Europeans to punish the Godousies for attacking the party on its arrival at Mount Rhenius. The offer was declined. On the 20th of June 1792 the expedition reached Mr. Van Reenen's farm Zeekoevlei, having been absent nine months, and having lost by drought and Bushmen one hundred and forty oxen.

From these travellers was received the first authentic account of the condition of the Damara clans, and of the feud between them and the Namaquas, a feud which continued with scarcely an intermission down to our own day.

During the five years 1785-9 the average number of ships that put into Table Bay was one hundred and thirty-nine, and that put into Simon's Bay twenty-five. Of the whole number, three hundred and thirty-four were Dutch, two hundred and twelve French, eighty-four English, seventy Danish, sixty-two American, twenty-nine Portuguese, ten Austrian, eight Spanish, seven Swedish, four Prussian, and one was Italian. After 1789 it is impossible to give statistics of shipping, as several of the journals and outgoing despatch books are missing from the archives.

The following vessels were wrecked on our coast during these years:

In the night between the 3rd and 4th of May 1785 the Company's homeward bound ship *Brederode* struck on a reef off Cape Agulhas, and went to pieces. Most of the crew got away in boats, but twelve lives were lost. None of her cargo was saved.

On the 3rd of May 1786 the wreck of a small French schooner, with a cargo of wine from Bordeaux, was found on the coast a little to the eastward of Cape Hangklip. Two dead bodies were found close by, but no further particulars could be ascertained.

In the evening of the 11th of May 1786 the Dutch national frigate *Holland*, one of a fleet of ships of war bound to Java, when entering False Bay struck on a reef and became a total wreck. Eight lives were lost.

On the 19th of August 1786 the wreck of a French brig named the *Rozette* was found close to Cape Point, and it was ascertained that she was from Bordeaux bound to Mauritius. There was no living person on board. Some days later six seamen were found under suspicious circumstances at the Cape, and were arrested, when it was discovered that they had murdered the officers and other sailors of the *Rozette*, and had then run the vessel ashore. They were tried and executed for the crime.

On the 7th of October 1786 the Company's schooner *Catwyk aan Rhyn* was driven ashore in Simon's Bay in a violent gale, and became a wreck, but no lives were lost. In the night between the 16th and 17th of May 1788 the Company's ship *Avenhoorn* was driven from her anchors in Table Bay by a gale from the north-west, and was lost. She was about to proceed to Mossel Bay to take in wheat for Batavia, and had no cargo on board. All hands were saved.

In August 1788 the Company's ship *Maria*, homeward bound from Ceylon, was met off Plettenberg's Bay by the Cape packet *Meermin*, and found to be in a condition of distress. Her crew had been attacked by scurvy, and only the skipper and fonr men were able to walk. By the help of the *Meermin's* crew, the *Maria* was taken into Plettenberg's Bay, where she was brought to anchor; but a few days later in a gale from the south-east she was driven ashore and became a total wreck. No lives were lost.

In the night between the 16th and 17th of October 1788 the French frigate *Penelope*, when trying to enter Simon's Bay, ran ashore on Muizenburg beach and went to pieces. There were four hundred and thirty men on board, most of whom got safely to land.

On the 16th of May 1789 the Dutch ship *Drietal Handelaars*, homeward bound from Ceylon under charter by the Company, was driven from her anchors off Zwartklip in False Bay, and went to pieces on the rocks. No lives were lost.

On the 12th of April 1790 a fleet of ships—mostly under foreign flags—was at anchor in Table Bay. The weather was stormy, with the wind from the north-north-west, accompanied by heavy showers of rain. In the morning a French ship parted her cables and went ashore near the mouth of Salt River, where she was joined shortly afterwards by the Genoese barque *Maria.* In the afternoon a French brigantine, an American barque, an English whaling ship, the Danish Company's fine ship *Erfprins van Augustenburgh*, and the Cape packet *Helena Louisa* went ashore. Towards evening the wind abated, or the number of wrecks would have increased, as other vessels had parted one of their cables. No lives were lost on this occasion. The *Helena Louisa* was got afloat again, and her damages were repaired.

Owing to this disaster, in January 1794 the directors issued orders that their ships were to make use of Simon's Bay from the 10th of April to the 1st of October, instead of from the 15th of May to the 15th of August, as previously.

After this date an account of the wrecks which took place on the South African coast cannot be given, because the journals and letter books have been lost from the archives of the Cape and of the Netherlands. Except the following, however, there were no very serious disasters between 1790 and 1796, or traces would be found in other documents. On the 27th of December 1794 the Portuguese ship *S. José*, with nearly five hundred slaves from Mozambique, ran ashore at Camp's Bay and was lost, when two hundred of the slaves were drowned.

In November 1787 an English fleet, to which considerable interest attaches, put into Table Bay for supplies. It was the fleet that conveyed the first convicts, male and female, to Botany Bay, to found the colony of New South Wales.

In November 1789 the British transport *Guardian*, under command of Lieutenant Edward Riou, put into Table Bay, and took on board large supplies of grain and live stock, intended for the use of the settlement at

Botany Bay. On the 24th of December, when about nineteen hundred kilometres from the Cape of Good Hope, the *Guardian* struck upon an iceberg, and was so much injured that next day it was feared she would sink. Lieutenant Riou would not leave the ship himself, but he ordered the four boats to be got out, and with his approval as many of the crew as they could contain embarked in them and set sail for the African coast. The launch fell in with a French ship on the 4th of January 1790, and her crew of fifteen were taken on board and brought to the Cape. Those in the other boats must have perished. Contrary to expectation, the *Guardian*, though waterlogged, did not go down, and several days after the disaster a Dutch vessel homeward bound from Batavia fell in with her. Assistance in men and materials was rendered, and she was brought back to Table Bay, the Dutch vessel keeping by her until she was safe in port.

There was at this time a strong desire expressed by the leading colonists for better means of educating their children. More than half a century earlier there had been a high school in Capetown; but it was not sufficiently supported, and had therefore been discontinued. All who could afford it employed private tutors, but in the country districts these teachers were usually men of scanty education and often of low moral character. In and near the town a better class of persons could be obtained, and a few of the wealthiest colonists sent their sons to Europe to complete their studies. In 1791 a movement was commenced for the establishment of a good school at each church and seat of magistracy in the country, and of a high school in Capetown, in which the Latin and French languages should be taught. A committee was appointed, and after long discussion a plan was prepared, which was submitted to the council and approved of in March 1792. It depended chiefly upon voluntary subscriptions to commence with, and payment of school fees thereafter. A sum of money was collected for the Latin school in Capetown, and a building in Graaffe—now Parliament—street was purchased from the chevalier François Duminy for £1,000. In September 1793 a qualified man named Cornelis Josias van Baak was engaged as preceptor, and the institution was opened; but the course of political events shortly afterwards caused it to be closed, and with that the whole plan fell through for a time. Ten years later there was an attempt to reopen it, but it again failed. The money subscribed was safely invested, however, and in 1837 was transferred to the present South African college.

In consequence of the helplessness to which the East India Company was now reduced, the states-general appointed a commission of four members to examine minutely into its affairs and to check further abuses. These gentlemen—the baron Van der Does, the lord of Marquette, Mr. P. H. van de Waal, and Mr. H. van Straalen—sent in preliminary reports in February and July 1791, one result of which was that a board with very great powers was constituted to examine into abuses in India and rectify them.

The individuals selected to form this board were Mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, chief advocate of the East India Company, Captain Simon Hendrik Frykenius, of the national navy, Mr. Willem Arnold Alting, governor-general, and Mr. Hendrik van Stokkum, director-general of Netherlands India. On the 19th of August 1791 a commission was issued by the stadtholder and the directors, empowering the members of this board, who could act separately anywhere but at Batavia, to investigate all matters connected with the Company's affairs, to bring to light abuses and malpractices, to make necessary reforms, to dismiss corrupt officials of every grade and either send them to Holland or cause them to be tried by a court of justice, to fill all vacant offices with trustworthy men, and generally to do as they should judge best, for which purpose the same power was given to them as was held by those who signed the document.

It is not necessary to enter into the instructions given to the board regarding the dependencies in India, where fraudulent practices throughout the administration, carelessness for the Company's interests, and insubordination among all classes of officials, were pointed out as the chief evils to be checked. Only two members could visit the Cape, and to them special instructions were given by the stadtholder and the directors, acting with the concurrence of the commission appointed by the states-general.

Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius were directed to see that the stoppage of public works resolved upon in the previous year was carried into effect. They were to establish the administration in the simplest and least expensive manner, and endeavour to increase the revenue. They could grant the colonists liberty to carry on a trade in slaves with Madagascar and the east coast of Africa, to establish whale fisheries, and to convey farm produce to any of the Dutch possessions in India and dispose of it there to the best account, provided that the vessels employed were owned in the colony or the Netherlands, were manned by crews consisting of at least half Cape colonists, and did not go beyond prescribed limits. They could allow private individuals to export wheat from Mossel Bay and timber from Plettenberg's Bay. They were to impose import and export duties, and farm them out to the highest bidder. They were to investigate the causes of the continued dissatisfaction of the colonists, to rectify abuses, to settle complaints, and to take with them to Batavia a full statement of such matters as they could not summarily dispose of, in order that, conjointly with the other members of the board, they could come to a decision there and afterwards make it known at the Cape.

Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius embarked in the national ship of war *Amazoon*, which cast anchor in

Simon's Bay on the 18th of June 1792. On the 23rd there was a special meeting of the council at two o'clock in the afternoon, when they were present and delivered an address; but they were not formally installed until the 3rd of July, when with as much state as was possible they assumed supreme control of the administration.

The commissioners were not many hours in the colony before they became aware that their task in South Africa would not be an easy one. They had been instructed to increase the revenue, and the first thing they heard upon reaching Simon's Bay was that the council had been obliged by the attitude of the burghers to withdraw a proclamation imposing a succession duty, or tax upon inheritances, which the directors had ordered to be levied. On the 25th of June the burgher councillors—Messrs. J. Smuts, G. H. Meyer, H. J. de Wet, A. Fleck, H. A. Truter, and H. P. Warnecke—requested an interview for the purpose of presenting a memorial on the condition of the country, which they desired to deliver in the name and on behalf of the whole body of colonists. The commissioners declined to receive them as representatives of the people, and asserted that they would only recognise the legally constituted committee of the high court of justice, which consisted of three servants of the Company and three burghers. They offered, however, to listen to the complaints contained in the memorial, if the councillors would appear as private individuals. Two days in every week, they stated, would be set aside purposely to hear complaints and to investigate grievances.

The burgher councillors withdrew dissatisfied. They maintained that from the earliest days of the colony to the recent establishment of the committee of the high court of justice, their predecessors in office had been regarded as representatives of the burgher population, and they were determined to make a resolute stand for the maintenance of the privilege. Immediately, public meetings began to be held all over the country, and addresses

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were signed, which were forwarded to them for presentation to the commissioners. In these addresses the principle was kept in view that the colonists could not in justice be required to assist the Company out of its difficulties, as they had in no way contributed to its losses, and that as the expenditure for purely colonial purposes was less than the revenue, the taxes should be reduced, instead of being increased. The farmers desired that the tithes should be abolished, and a tax substituted of five per cent upon the value of produce sold. The commissioners learned that the supply of wheat in Capetown was only sufficient for eighteen days' consumption, and that the country people would not bring in more until their grievances were heard.

On the 9th of July the burgher councillors presented themselves again with numerous memorials, and were again informed that they could not be recognised as representatives of the people. But it soon became evident to the commissioners that on this point concession must be made. Much as the people talked about taxation, they talked more about their rights; and this matter of being represented by burghers alone, instead of by a mixed body of Company's servants and burghers, was the right that just then they made most of. The commissioners therefore at length gave way, and while still retaining the committee of the high court of justice for the management of municipal affairs, consented to receive the six burgher councillors as representatives or advocates of the colonists.

Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius now issued addresses appealing to the people to aid the government in its distress and to desist from further opposition. They exhorted the citizens of the town to return to the simple style of living of their forefathers, as by so doing large incomes would not be needed. That was the course the Company had determined to adopt, they stated, and it was the only practicable means of overcoming the difficulties under which all were labouring. These moral injunctions had little or no effect, though the commissioners flattered themselves that a good impression had been made by them. The people denied that they were disloyal to the states-general, and maintained that their opposition was confined to the corrupt administration of the East India Company. But the East India Company is the machinery provided by the states-general for your government, said the commissioners, and they thought that by this assertion all objections ought to be removed.

After a rigid examination of the records and practices of each department, Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius came to the conclusion that it would be possible to reduce the expenditure at the Cape to about £66,000 a year. They struck off nearly all the perquisites of the officers of government, and allowed them small, but suitable, salaries instead. The officers were permitted, however, to retain the fees which they derived from various sources. The Company's garden in Capetown and the country seat of Rustenburg, used by the secunde, were leased by public tender, and a great number and variety of other charges upon the Company were summarily cut off.

To increase the revenue they imposed the following taxes:

(*a*) A duty of £2 upon every slave imported, and of five per cent upon the value of all articles imported or exported, except by the Company.

(*b*) An increase of transfer dues on sales of land held over ten years, from two and a half to four per cent.

(*c*) A charge upon carriages and vehicles kept for pleasure, varying from 12*s.* to £2 a year, according to the class.

(*d*) A charge of £2 on every vessel not belonging to the Company anchoring in either of the bays.

(*e*) The farming out of the saltpans.

(*f*) A duty of 12*s.* on each legger of brandy brought to town, similar to the former duty on wine.

(*g*) A charge of five per cent upon the effects of all persons above the rank of junior merchants leaving the colony, unless they returned within three years.

(*h*) Auction duty. It had long been a perquisite of the secretary to the council in Capetown and of the landdrosts in the country districts to act as auctioneers. On the amount realised by landed property two and a half per cent, and on that realised by movable goods five per cent, was paid to them by the seller. The auctioneers were now required to deliver to the government eleven-sixteenths of these fees, the remaining five-sixteenths they could retain for themselves.

(*i*) An increase of the stamp duty. Under this heading among other items accounts for goods sold at public auction were required to bear stamps ranging from 6*d.* to £2 according to the amount of the purchase. The auctioneers were required to make oath to the accuracy of the accounts as copied from the vendue rolls, and the stamps were to be paid for by the purchasers. None but accounts under the value of £1 4*s.* were exempt.

The last-named was a most unpopular tax. From the earliest times goods of all kinds were constantly being disposed of by auction in the town, and periodical sales were held in the several country districts. Every three months, upon the celebration of the communion, the farmers were in the habit of attending the different churches. Many of them travelled seven or eight days for that purpose, and usually arranged to remain at the church place from the Thursday or Friday preceding to the Tuesday following. Those who had goods or cattle to dispose of took advantage of these opportunities, and it seldom happened that auction sales were not held. The clergy set their faces against the practice, but the circumstances of the country were such that sales went on in spite of their denunciations. A tax upon articles bought at auctions was therefore a tax that affected the pockets of every one.

The burgher councillors, after using all the arguments they could command, protested against the requirement of stamps on bills of purchases at auction, but to no purpose. The heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, attended by between three and four hundred farmers of that district, came to town, and remonstrated against it, but also to no effect. Then at public meetings it was resolved to purchase nothing at auctions until the obnoxious tax was withdrawn. The commissioners went to Stellenbosch, where the opposition was strongest, and endeavoured to appease the people; but though they were listened to patiently and treated with the greatest respect, they were unsuccessful. During the month of May 1793 not a single sale by auction took place in the colony, the few who were disposed to purchase being intimidated by the attitude of the great majority of the burghers.

The commissioners informed the directors, however, that it was only a question of time, as without such sales the business of the colony would cease, so that sooner or later the people would be obliged to submit. And it happened as they foresaw. A sale by auction was announced to take place at the Paarl, and Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, secretary of the high court of justice, was sent to try to induce people to bid. For some time the auctioneer could get no offer for anything. But at length an old woman was persuaded by Mr. Van Ryneveld to make a trifling bid for a slave, and this being accepted and the slave pronounced sold, others could not resist the temptation to try to make like bargains. The bidding soon became spirited, and the sale was successful. In Capetown the people held out a little longer, but were at length compelled to submit.

The several measures adopted to increase the revenue and reduce the expenditure were productive of the following results, as shown by the Company's books for the three years preceding the 31st of August 1794, the latest date to which the accounts were audited. The total expenditure at the Cape during those three years was £203,070, or on an average £67,690 a year. The total revenue was £91,752, or on an average £30,584 a year. And the amount derived from selling and leasing property belonging to the Company, including profit on East Indian produce, was £30,796, or £10,265 a year. Thus the yearly outlay was reduced to within £27,000 of the income, instead of £92,000 as previously.

The commissioners claimed that the benefits which they conferred upon the colonists greatly outweighed the burdens imposed by the increased taxation.

In the first place, they raised the price paid by the Company for wheat to 11*s.* 4*d.* a muid, from which, however, the tithe—either in money or in kind—was to be deducted. At this price, the Company was to retain the right of demanding as much wheat as it needed. The farmers, after paying the tithe, could dispose of the surplus as they pleased, or could export it to India or the Netherlands, provided it was sent in Dutch ships.

For several years the coast of South Africa had been frequented by English and American whalers, to such an extent that over twenty were once engaged in St. Helena Bay alone, and in 1788 no fewer than thirty-six English and six American ships obtained full cargoes of oil. These strangers even carried on their occupation in Table Bay, and on one occasion a whale was towed to land close to the castle with an English flag flying from a staff stuck in its back, while the colonists were prohibited from engaging in the pursuit. The reasons for such prohibition are not given in the Company's records, but a Dutch writer of the time—A. E. van Braam Houckgeest,—who was a keen observer and a competent witness, states that the directors, who had Estienne Barbier's revolt in 1739 in their memory, feared that if the burghers were not kept in the strictest restraint they would declare themselves independent. In Septemher 1792 the commissioners threw this industry open to the colonists, on condition that the vessels employed should be built and equipped in the Netherlands, that ships engaged to take oil to Europe should be chartered through the agency of the Company, and that the oil should be sent only to the Netherlands. Whale fishing by means of open boats was restricted to Table and False bays, in order that no establishments requiring protection might be formed at other places.

Next, in November 1792 liberty was given to the colonists to send the produce of the country to any part of Netherlands India for sale, provided the ships employed were built in Holland; but return cargoes could only be purchased from the Company. The ports of Table Bay, Mossel Bay, and Plettenberg's Bay were declared open for this trade. The ships engaged were not to go beyond certain limits, which were laid down. Trade in slaves with Madagascar and East Africa was also permitted.

At the same time the commissioners strictly prohibited the importation of any goods in foreign vessels. Trade with strangers was restricted to the sale of provisions for money, unless special permission was first obtained from the government.

The privileges, as the commissioners termed them, gave little satisfaction to the colonists. The prohibition of trade with foreigners, they protested, would ruin them. For more than a century the Cape had been a place where persons coming from Europe could buy Indian wares, and those from India European wares, a large proportion of which was obtained from foreigners. The trade was illegal, but was nevertheless conducted openly. Nearly the whole of the gold and silver in the colony was derived from the English, French, and Danes who visited the ports. The Indian trade, fenced in by such restrictions as those imposed by the commissioners, would be of no benefit. The liberty to establish whale fisheries would be of advantage to a few persons, but could be of little aid to the colony at large.

Distress, consequent upon the reduction of the garrison and an almost total cessation of trade, was at this time general. Men were unable to pay debts less than one-tenth of the nominal value of fixed property in their possession, and judgments of court in some cases could not be satisfied, as purchasers were not to be found for land at any price. To relieve this distress, and at the same time to increase the revenue, in March 1793 the commissioners established a loan bank. A quantity of paper was stamped to represent different sums, was declared a legal tender, and was issued through this bank to applicants offering sufficient security for the loan. In the town an advance was made to the amount of one-half the value of the property mortgaged, and in the country to the amount of two-thirds; but as additional security two persons of means were required to pledge themselves for the repayment of the loan. This issue of paper, or cartoon money as it was called, amounted to £135,473, upon which interest at the rate of five per cent was payable by the borrowers yearly. By this means relief from pressure of debt was obtained by many landed proprietors; but the effect of issuing such a quantity of inconvertible cartoon money was greatly to increase the general distress.

The belief in the existence of gold in Great Namaqualand had not yet died out. Mr. Sebastiaan Valentyn van Reenen, who was a man of means and an enthusiast in this matter, addressed the commissioners on the subject, and an arrangement for another exploring expedition was made. The commissioners, on behalf of the Company, intended to take formal possession of various bays on the coast of Namaqualand that were likely to be frequented by whalers, and it was therefore planned that the packet *Meermin* should be sent northward for that purpose, that Mr. Van Reenen with his party should have a passage in her to a bay where a train of waggons which he was to send overland should meet him, and that Chevalier Duminy should render all possible assistance.

When the expedition under Willem van Reenen was in Namaqualand, one of the party—Barend Freyn—had heard of a Hottentot chief named Ynemand, who was said to reside at a bay about twelve or fourteen days' journey north of the mouth of the Great river, and who was reported to be friendly to strangers and to know where the gold mines were situated. Mr. Sebastiaan van Reenen now engaged Barend Freyn to proceed with a train of waggons to the kraal of Ynemand, and make the acquaintance of that chief. He undertook to be there not later than the 1st of January 1793, and to wait until the arrival of Mr. Van Reenen.

On the 3rd of January 1793 the *Meermin* sailed from Table Bay. She had as passengers the brothers Sebastiaan Valentyn and Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, Pieter Pienaar, a European servant, eight Hottentots, and two slaves. Five days after sailing she reached an island close to the coast in latitude 27° S., where some Englishmen and Americans were found killing seals for their oil and skins. Pienaar went ashore on the mainland, and came across some Hottentots, but could obtain no intelligence concerning Freyn and the waggons. The only white man that the Hottentots knew of as being in the country was one Gideon Visagie, who led a wandering life among the savages. Some stone beacons had been brought from Capetown, with the arms of the States engraved on one side and the monogram of the East India Company on the other. On the 12th of January one of these was taken ashore on the island, and erected at a spot which was set down in the diary as latitude 27° S., longitude 32° 45′ east of Teneriffe. The seal-hunters called the place Thompson's Island, but in South Africa it has been known ever since this date as Possession. The sheet of water between it and the mainland was named by Chevalier Duminy Elizabeth Bay. A chart was made, which is now in the archives of the colony.

On the 13th the *Meermin* sailed. She cast anchor next in latitude 26° 21′ S., and parties went ashore and explored the country around Angra Pequena, without finding any trace of Ynemand or Barend Freyn. On the 20th possession was formally taken, and a beacon was erected at a point marked in the chart—which is now in the colonial archives—as latitude 26° 30′ 26″ S., longitude 15° 57′ 9″ east of London. The longitude is incorrect, as in nearly all the calculations of that time. The variation of the compass is set down as 23° 31′ W. The island now called Halifax was named by Chevalier Duminy Meermin Island, the sheet of water between it and Pedestal Point he named Daniel's Bay, the recess between Pedestal Point and the point farther eastward on which he erected his beacon he named Rhenius Bay, and Angra Pequena itself he renamed Beschermer Haven.

Sailing again, on the 23rd of January the *Meermin* cast anchor in Walvisch or Whale Bay, latitude as given 22° 56′ S. Chevalier Duminy had been there two years before, when he had seen about a hundred head of horned cattle in possession of a kraal of Hottentots. On the 25th the brothers Van Reenen went ashore and found the Hottentots, who appeared highly delighted at the sight of strangers. Presents were made to them, and two cows, a calf, five sheep, and some copper ornaments were obtained in barter. These Hottentots knew of Captain Ynemand, and pointed to the south-east as the direction in which he lived. They declined, however, to furnish guides, though tempting offers were made. They stated that the copper mine, from which they procured the metal which they had in abundance, was not very far away. After a short acquaintance, they were found to be persistent beggars and inveterate thieves.

On the 29th of January Pieter Pienaar and the Hottentots brought from Capetown left to explore the country to the eastward. They returned on the 20th of

February, when Pienaar reported that the day after leaving he met two Damaras who acted as guides, and conducted him for twelve days up the valley of a river. Beyond this valley on each side the country was burnt up, as he was informed no rain whatever had fallen for five years. In the valley he found fine large trees growing, and in some places rich grass on flats three quarters of an hour's walk from one side to the other. Water was obtained by digging in places known to the Damaras, though none was flowing above the surface. He passed five Damara kraals in the valley, and procured some copper from the people residing in them. They informed him that there were no clans with cattle to the north, but many to the south and south-east. They knew of Willem van Reenen's expedition; but could give no information about the captain Ynemand or any other metal than copper. Game was very abundant in the valley. Pienaar saw elephants, rhinoceroses, gemsboks, buffaloes, gnus, springboks, and lions. With some of the savages, the men were fat and strong, owing to their being able to get game, but the women and children were wretchedly thin and seemingly starving. They offered to sell some children, and Pienaar bought two about eight or nine years of age, little better than skeletons.

It was now evident that Freyn was not in Namaqualand, and Mr. Van Reenen came to the conclusion that he had been prevented by the drought from penetrating the country, which was afterwards found to be correct. No information whatever concerning gold was to be obtained, nor was it possible to reach Ynemand wherever he might be. Further exploration was therefore reluctantly abandoned.

On the 26th of February a beacon was erected by Chevalier Duminy as a mark of possession, but the old name of Walvisch—or as now written Walfish—Bay was not changed. On the 3rd of March the *Meermin* sailed, and on the 10th of April cast anchor again in Table Bay.

CHAPTER LIII.

SEBASTIAAN CORNELIS NEDERBURGH AND SIMON HENDRIK FRYKENIUS, COMMISSIONERS-GENERAL, (*continued*).

OWING to advantages gained by the Bushmen in the war along the interior mountain range, and the abandonment of about a hundred farms by the colonists, the government directed the landdrosts of Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam, and Stellenbosch, with the heemraden of those districts, to hold a combined meeting in Capetown on the 1st of July 1792, under the presidency of Colonel Gordon, for the purpose of arranging a plan of military operations. On the day appointed, Mr. Woeke did not appear, so on the 2nd of July the council suspended him from duty, and called upon him to answer for his conduct. A military officer—Captain Bernard Cornelis van Baalen—was directed to proceed to Graaff-Reinet as soon as arrangements could be made, and to act there as landdrost until further orders. The old secretary Wagener and Mr. Jan Gysbert van Reenen, the latter of whom was a man of experience in frontier matters, were requested to aid the combined landdrosts and heemraden with their advice.

On the 13th of July Colonel Gordon laid before the council of policy the report that had been agreed upon. It recommended that a commando of at least a hundred burghers should be called out in the district of Swellendam, and another of equal strength in the district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, that these commandos should be provided for a campaign of three months, and should meet at the farm of Jan Adam Raubenheimer at the Zwartberg, on the 31st of August. Mr. Jan Pieter van der Walt, of the Cold Bokkeveld, was named as a competent man for the chief command, and his brother—Tjaart van der Walt—as the person best qualified for the second place. It was proposed that Captain Van Baalen, when on his way to Graaff-Reinet, should call upon Mr. J. P. van der Walt, and arrange a plan of action; that he should then assemble as many of his burghers as could be got together, and act in concert with the other forces in the field.

The council adopted the report, and issued the necessary instructions to have it carried into effect. The usual injunctions to act with humanity were added, and as an inducement to the burghers to take prisoners rather than shoot their opponents, a reward of £3 was offered for every individual of Bushman race, big or little, male or female, delivered at the Cape. The council determined that such prisoners should be sent to Robben Island as convicts for life.

Before these arrangements could be carried into effect, a robbery of unusual magnitude took place, followed by punishment of terrible severity. On the 11th of June two hordes of Bushmen, under leaders to whom the colonists had given the names Flamink and Couragie, attacked at Leeuw River the drovers in charge of some cattle belonging to the contractor for the supply of meat to the Company, killed a European, wounded a slave, and captured eleven thousand slaughter sheep and two hundred and fifty-six oxen. The burgher lieutenant Nicolaas Smit, of Graaff-Reinet, assisted by Tjaart van der Walt and Philip Botha, got together thirty-three burghers of Swellendam, and followed up the robbers. On the 24th of July this commando fell in with Flamink's horde, and shot about three hundred individuals of all ages, including the leader. Fifteen children were taken alive, and eight hundred and sixty sheep, fifty-three oxen, four horses, and eight muskets were recovered.

On the 1st of September the commandant-general Van der Walt left Raubenheimer's farm with a force of sixty Europeans and forty half-breeds to search for Couragie's horde. The country about the source of the Zak river was scoured, and over two hundred Bushmen were killed. Seven hundred and twenty-five sheep and fifteen oxen were recovered. On the 24th of November the Europeans and half-breeds, divided into three parties, went out again from the camp; but did not succeed in falling in with the marauders.

The burghers of Graaff-Reinet took no part in these operations. Captain Van Baalen did not arrive at the drostdy until the 12th of September, when he found that the secretary Maynier had issued notices to the farmers to assemble on the 24th, too late to act in concert with the other forces.

The Europeans had an active ally in the Hottentot captain Afrikaner, who had recently migrated with a few followers from the neighbourhood of the Witzenberg to the Hantam. Afrikaner with his clan scoured the country farther down the Zak river while Commandant Van der Walt was engaged at its sources, killed one hundred and thirteen Bushmen, and took twenty prisoners. He then applied to the landdrost of Stellenbosch for a supply of ammunition to enable him to proceed with the work of clearing the country of robbers. The landdrost forwarded the application to government, and on the 20th of November the council resolved to comply with the request. A farmer named Pieter Pienaar, who lived on the farm Great Doornberg, near the present village of Calvinia, and in whose service Afrikaner himself as well as most of his people frequently were, was known to have a large stock of powder and lead on hand, so the landdrost was instructed to procure advances from him, which the council would gladly repay. Afrikaner was also informed that the government was very well satisfied with his conduct.

The captain did not use the ammunition for the purpose for which it was granted. There was a band of half-breed and Hottentot marauders living on the northern bank of the Great river, under the leadership of a European renegade. With this band his clan had a feud, and an opportunity so favourable for an attack was not allowed to pass by. The result was several killed and wounded on both sides, the loss by Afrikaner of the staff of office supplied by the government, and his driving his opponents from the field of action and making prize of six of their guns. With the spoil he proceeded to Capetown, where on the 7th of August 1793 he delivered the guns to the government, and obtained another staff of office.

Towards the close of 1792 the commandos operating against the Bushmen were disbanded, and the burghers of Stellenbosch and Swellendam returned to their homes. Two farms in the Nieuwveld were given free of rent to Mr. J. P. van der Walt, on condition of his occupying them; and power was conferred upon him to call out commandos whenever he might find it necessary, without previous reference to any of the landdrosts.

Immediately after the suspension of Landdrost Woeke, of Graaff-Reinet, complaints of his domineering conduct were made by the secretary Maynier, the sick-comforter De Vries, the former heemraad Van Jaarsveld, and others, all of which he was called upon to reply to. Instead of defending himself, he accused his opponents of various kinds of improper conduct, so that between the two sets of papers and those which followed, whatever evil deeds had been committed in the district were brought to light Acts of violence were very rare, considering the condition in which the people were living. One monstrous deed, of which the tradition was long preserved by the Imidange clan, was brought home to Adriaan van Jaarsveld. In the campaign of 1781 he had caused a volley to be fired into a party of Xosas who were scrambling for bits of tobacco he had thrown to them. The atrocity of the act was pointed out, as it was done in cold blood, and could not be considered proper in war, although the commandant had previously given notice to the Xosas that they would be shot if they did not cross the Fish river.

With regard to his not attending the combined meeting of landdrosts and heemraden in Capetown, Mr. Woeke gave a satisfactory explanation. Communications between the seat of government and the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet were frequently from three to four months in passing. On this occasion he only received the order on the 20th of June, and it was therefore impossible to obey it. The commissioners-general, however, considering that he had not refuted the charges against him and that he had certainly lost the confidence of the people of the district, dismissed him from the Company's service, and provisionally appointed the secretary Maynier landdrost in his stead.

It was one of the most injudicious appointments ever made in South Africa, for no one could have been more out of sympathy with the colonists than Maynier was. It seems almost impossible that any man living on the frontier of the Cape Colony could really have held the views concerning the simplicity and honesty of barbarians enunciated by the French philosophers whose influence was then at its greatest height, yet he seems to have been sincere in professing them. His chief virtue was industry, and he possessed in perfection that kind of ability which enabled him to ascertain exactly what his superiors desired and to win their favour and confidence. He was a near relative of the secunde Rhenius, but he did not owe his appointment to the influence of that officer so much as to his own address. The frank, outspoken, generous, though rough colonists of the frontier were no match in argument with him, they felt their helplessness against his representations, and detested him accordingly. At the very first meeting of the court under his presidency, 6th of May 1793, the majority of the district officers expressed their dissatisfaction, and were with difficulty induced not to resign their appointments.

It was a trying period on the frontier. A long and intensely severe drought had prevented the cultivation of the ground, all the reserve grain had been consumed by the Xosas, and those in the Zuurveld had lost most of their cattle. The regent Ndlambe was at war with the chiefs on the western side of the Fish river, and three white men—Coenraad du Buis, Christoffel Botha, and Coenraad Bezuidenhout—were taking part in the strife, nominally in his favour, really for the sake of spoil. The old chief Langa had been made prisoner, and was detained at Ndlambe's kraal. Coenraad du Buis had not scrupled to take a girl just married to the captive chief, and keep her as his concubine, thus exasperating the Amambala clan. Far and wide within the colony the Xosas were stealing the farmers' cattle, and parties of them even sent word to the drostdy that they would continue to do so until the three white men with Ndlambe ceased to molest them.

When intelligence of Maynier's appointment was received in the district, some of the farmers, in utter despair, took the law into their own hands. Several large cattle robberies had just taken place, so the burgher Barend Lindeque raised a commando without reference to the landdrost, got assistance from Ndlambe, and on the 18th of May surrounded a kraal and took eight hundred head of cattle from it by way of reprisal. Half of this spoil was sent to Ndlambe, the remainder was distributed among the farmers from whom the cattle had been stolen.

A few days after this occurrence a great horde of Xosas crossed the Fish river to the assistance of those on the western side, and an attack was made upon the colonists. There were one hundred and twenty farms occupied between the rivers Kowie and Zwartkops, and one hundred and sixteen of these were laid waste. The Europeans and Hottentots fled westward for their lives. Some parties were overtaken, when the men were tortured in a shocking manner and then murdered, but the women and children were permitted to proceed. Pieter Vivier Jan Grobbelaar, Frederik Jordaan, Juriaan Potgieter, and Stephanus Cloete were thus murdered, and Frederik Buys was left in such a condition that he died some time afterwards of his wounds. A lad about sixteen years of age, named Stroebel, was taken away, and his fate could never be ascertained. About forty Hottentots also were overtaken and put to death. According to returns afterwards sent in, sixty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-seven head of horned cattle, eleven thousand sheep, and two hundred horses were swept off in this raid.

Upon a report of the outbreak reaching Swellendam, the burgher lieutenant Pieter Hendrik Ferreira, with twenty-six white men and fourteen Hottentots, set out with the utmost speed to the assistance of the fugitives, and on the 22nd of June met some fifty families at the Zwartkops. It was at once arranged to make use of that river as a line of defence, and to guard it until relief could reach them. It was estimated that there were six thousand Xosa warriors in the field, so that offensive operations were not to be thought of.

On the 18th of June Mr. Maynier, accompanied by the secretary Stanhoffius and the heemraden Stephanus Naude and Hendrik Meintjes van den Berg, left Graaff-Reinet to try to restore concord by means of presents to the chiefs. He first opened up communication with Ndlambe, and arranged with him that the Xosas in the colony might return unmolested to their own side of the Fish river. Most of them had in fact already done so, with the object of placing their spoil in safety. Many of Ndlambe's own followers had taken part in the raid, and the colonists were convinced that a reconciliation of the clans had taken place and that all were united against them.

Mr. Maynier, who professed to believe that the Xosas were incapable of acting with duplicity, next sent a Hottentot named Willem Hasebek to the chiefs who had led the raiders, to propose peace on condition of their restoring the captured cattle and respecting the Fish river as the boundary. They replied, agreeing to the boundary of the Fish river, but declining to give up the cattle. Mr. Maynier then returned to Graaff-Reinet, where tidings reached him that large numbers of Xosas were again on the colonial side of the river, that they were plundering farms in distant parts of the district, and that on the 30th of July a son of Theunis Botha and a Hottentot had been murdered.

Meantime the government had sent instructions to the landdrost of Swellendam to call out a strong commando and proceed to the devastated district. He was to compel the Xosas to cross the Fish river and to restore the captured cattle or make compensation; but was not to inflict further punishment, and upon these conditions being complied with, he was to make peace. The military ensign Hans Abue was sent to the frontier to aid the landdrost with his advice.

When this intelligence reached Graaff-Reinet, Mr. Maynier, fancying that a slight had been put upon him, resolved to take the field at once. He called out the burghers, and convened a meeting of the heemraden and militia officers on the 19th of August. The distrust felt towards him was, however, so general that no one would consent to act as commandant under his direction. There were only two heemraden—S. Naude and H. M. van den Berg—to say a word in his favour, and the result of the meeting was therefore that the landdrost took command himself, and appointed these two his assistants. On the 27th of August he left Graaff-Reinet, at the head of one hundred and seventeen mounted burghers.

On the 8th of September the Swellendam commando commenced its march. It consisted of about four hundred burghers—including many fugitives from the Zuurveld—and one hundred Hottentots, under the militia captain Laurens de Jager, accompanied by the landdrost Faure. At the devastated farm of Cornelis van Rooyen, not far from the site of the present city of Grahamstown, this commando joined the one under Maynier.

A strong party of the Graaff-Reinet burghers, having as spokesmen Carel Jan Triegard, Jan Botha, and Cornelis Faber, now agitated for the appointment of De Jager as commandant-general. Mr. Maynier and his two partisans objected, and as he quoted law which could not be disputed, his opponents were obliged to give way. It was then resolved that as the Xosas had again gone over to the eastern side of the Fish river, a large division of the force, under command of Maynier, should follow them up, while the remaining division, under De Jager and Faure, should guard the camp on the colonial side.

On the 14th of September Maynier with a small flying column appeared at the Koonap, near its junction with the Fish, where the captain Cika of the Amantinde clan was lurking, and recovered about thirteen hundred head of cattle. On the 26th of the same month he made another quick march to the same place, but on this occasion only obtained two hundred cattle. The Xosas lost some ten men killed and wounded by these two expeditions.

The column next took another direction, and crossed the Fish river at a place where a Hottentot captain named Trompetter formerly had a kraal, from which circumstance the ford was known as Trompetter's drift. On the 1st and 2nd of October about two thousand five hundred head of cattle were recovered, but very few Xosas were killed. A certain petty captain, called Hans by the colonists, now joined the commando with several followers. This man was the head of a few families of the old

Gonaqua tribe which had mixed but little with the Xosas, and he was almost a pure Hottentot in appearance. Cungwa, the principal chief of the clan, was one of the most active enemies of the colonists; but Hans professed to be friendly. Every day his following increased in number, and some of them, being quite black, stated that they were adherents of Ndlambe. From the time of their arrival no cattle could be found, and the burghers, who observed that these strangers always made large fires at night, became suspicious of them and desired leave to drive them away. Mr. Maynier would not consent to this, and professed to believe that Hans and his followers were truthful and harmless.

Eight or ten days were now occupied in searching for a ford in the upper waters of the Keiskama, and as one could not be found, the column marched to the mouth of that river and waded across the bar. Most of the farmers' cattle had in the mean time been driven far beyond reach, and had been placed under the care of Kawuta, the head of the Gcaleka branch and paramount chief of the whole Xosa tribe. The warriors of the hostile clans had doubled upon the commando, had crossed the Fish river between Trompetter's drift and the sea, and were again in occupation of the Zuurveld. Hans and his party being left behind in the rapid march of the burgher horsemen, on the 14th of October the commando was able to surprise a strong body of the enemy on the Buffalo river, when in a hot skirmish about forty Xosas were killed and seven thousand head of cattle were captured. One hundred and twenty women and children and a couple of men were made prisoners.

A dreadful crime was perpetrated after the action was over. One of the women and the adult male prisoners were shot in cold blood by relatives of some of those burghers who had been murdered in the Zuurveld. The ferocious deed was spoken of with horror by one of those present who placed the circumstance on record, but no punishment was inflicted upon the perpetrators. It is not referred to in Maynier's despatches. After a very short detention, all the other prisoners were released unharmed.

As the horses were worn out and there was no grass in the parched-up country, the commando was now obliged to fall back. On reaching the Keiskama a friendly visit was paid to Ndlambe, who repeated the promises he had made before, and accepted such presents as were offered to him. He accounted for the cattle with colonial marks seen in his possession by the assurance that they had been taken by his followers from the clans at war with the colonists, who were his enemies also; and he promised Mr. Maynier to restore them to the white people if time were allowed him to collect them together. The landdrost considered this very satisfactory, and parted with Ndlambe on the best of terms.

In the march from the Keiskama, many of the cattle taken on the Buffalo had to be abandoned, and upon approaching the Fish river the scouts reported that the ford was occupied by a strong body of Xosas. By means of some Hottentots, communication was opened with the Swellendam commando, then in camp on the farm of Lucas Meyer three hours' march from the river, the site of the present city of Grahamstown. A relief party was sent out, when the Xosas retired from the ford, and the Graaff-Reinet burghers crossed without molestation.

An attempt was now made to drive the enemy out of the Zuurveld. The Xosas were too wary to risk an encounter in the open field, and did not even make a stand in natural strongholds. The few who were encountered by chance professed to be friendly, and, upon a mere promise to go across the Fish river, were left unmolested by order of Maynier. After two or three weeks' marching backward and forward from one forest to another, only to learn that each place was occupied again as soon as they left it, the burghers found themselves with horses and oxen quite worn out, very little food of any kind to be had, and no prospect of better fortune in the future. They had recovered a few cattle, all with colonial brands, and in a couple of slight skirmishes had taken prisoners sixty women and children and four Hottentots who had joined the enemy. That was all that had been done.

It was evident to every one that there were only two methods of bringing the war to a close. One was the plan adopted by Adriaan van Jaarsveld twelve years before: no quarter, let every man of the invaders leave the colony or be shot. The other was for the Europeans to submit to the best terms obtainable. The war council, consisting of the landdrosts Maynier and Faure, the military ensign Hans Abue, the Graaff-Reinet burgher officers Stephanus Naude and Hendrik Meintjes van den Berg, and the Swellendam burgher officers Laurens de Jager and Hillegard Mulder, took the latter course.

The women and children who had been made prisoners were released and sent with presents to invite the hostile chiefs to a conference. After six days' absence, some of the women returned with a message that the chiefs were willing to make peace, but were afraid to visit the camp—then at Assagai Bush—and therefore requested the landdrosts to meet them at a place five hours' journey distant. The landdrosts went unarmed to the spot indicated, and had a conference with two sons of Langa, one of whom—Tuli by name—returned with them to the camp. The chiefs stated their willingness to desist from hostilities, but protested that they were unable to restore the cattle taken from the colonists. All had been killed and eaten, they declared; and such of their own cattle as had not been seized by Ndlambe had perished in the drought.

While Tuli was in the camp, word was brought that the burgher Hendrik van Rensburg had raised a separate commando, and was preparing to attack some of the clans. The landdrosts hastened to meet him, and persuaded him to desist. They then had a meeting with the chiefs of the Amambala, Amagwali, Imidange, and Amantinde clans, when it was agreed that there should be peace. The chiefs promised to surrender any horses and horned cattle that were still alive, as also several Hottentots who had aided them.

With these terms the members of the war council expressed themselves obliged to be content, as no better conditions were obtainable. In their report, they state that in their opinion it was quite enough to have the Bushmen to contend with, and that any terms of peace with the Xosas were therefore preferable to continuing the war. But the great majority of the burghers were of a very different mind, and were indignant at what was taking place. They wanted some-one in command in whom they could have confidence, and the war to be prosecuted until the colony was cleared of invaders. They also scouted the assertion of Maynier that Ndlambe's friendship could be relied upon, and insisted that his people had taken part in the raid into the colony and that he was harbouring their cattle. They dispersed in a spirit which needed very little provocation to induce an open revolt against the East India Company and its officers.

On the 27th of November 1793 the burghers left Assagai Bush, those who had homes to return to them, the others to form new homes where best they could. Just before the landdrost Maynier took his departure, messengers from the Gunukwebe chief Cungwa arrived to propose that his clan should be included in the peace. Cungwa was then occupying the banks of the Bushman's river. The landdrost went to see him, and made the same terms as with the others.

The arrangement gave to the Xosas all the fruits of victory. And so far was it from putting an end to hostilities by them, that the burgher Abel Erasmus was murdered near the Zwartkops river and all his cattle were carried off before the Swellendam commando reached home. The forces were hardly disbanded when a farmer named Strydom was murdered, another named Schoeman was badly wounded, and even a white woman was murdered by Xosas a considerable distance from the Zuurveld.

Upon receiving presents to a much greater value, Ndlambe sent in some four hundred head of cattle, and about twelve thousand five hundred had been recovered since the beginning of the war. Many of these had been slaughtered for the use of the commandos, some had been abandoned in Kaffirland, and others had died, so that only four thousand head remained. These were divided, in proportion to their losses, among the farmers who had been obliged to retire from the Zuurveld.

The landdrost Maynier was afterwards instructed by the government to investigate the causes of the war. In his report he expressed an opinion that the farmers had been sufficiently remunerated for their losses. He pointed out that the individuals who claimed to have had sixty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-seven head of horned cattle taken from them had returned their stock for taxation purposes just before the outbreak at eight thousand and four head. As has been stated already, the standard of truth with regard to returns for taxation purposes was in general very low indeed; but the discrepancy here shown was not entirely due to that cause. At the birth of a child it was customary with the farmers to mark a certain number of heifers as its property, and the increase of these belonged to the child, so that when grown up a son or a daughter might have something to commence the world with. Such cattle were by a kind of tacit understanding exempted from the tax of a penny a year on each head levied for district purposes. Still, the discrepancy really exhibits the proneness of the people to escape taxation at the cost of truth.

The report of Mr. Maynier, which was evidently prepared to meet the views of the government, attributed the origin of the war chiefly to the outrageous conduct of Coenraad du Buis and the commando of Barend Lindeque, but gave as secondary causes the occupation of ground east of the Fish river by twenty-eight families of colonists, wrongs to which the Xosas had been subjected by cattle barterers, cruelties practised towards Xosas in service with farmers, and the conduct of a Hottentot to whom the late landdrost Woeke had given a gun. The Bantu are described in it as a quiet and peaceably-disposed people. This report, which exhibits in every paragraph a strong desire to put the Xosa case in the best light and to throw as much blame as possible on the burghers, entirely ignores the chief cause of the war as shown in subsequent struggles between the two races. Outrages perpetrated by farmers are brought to light, but nothing is said of offences against them. In addition to those already mentioned, this paper records an act of violence committed by Frederik Jordaan, one of those overtaken and murdered in the raid. He had knocked some teeth out of a Xosa servant with a bullet mould. Read to-day, the report has the opposite effect from what the writer intended to produce. Any impartial person, observing the spirit that pervades it, will be surprised at the small amount of crime that existed, considering the circumstances under which the people lived.

An order was now issued by the landdrost, and confirmed by the government, that three or four families should always live close together, for mutual protection. In point of fact, such an order was superfluous, for there was no other way of existing in the greater part of the district of Graaff-Reinet than by combining in lagers. Proclamations were renewed, forbidding Europeans under very severe penalties from crossing the Fish river or carrying on cattle barter or intercourse of any kind with the Xosas. The landdrost was instructed to conciliate those in the Zuurveld with presents, and to induce them in a friendly manner to return to their own country.

The burghers who were foremost in advocating a renewal of the war were threatened with dire punishment, and Coenraad du Buis was summoned to Capetown to answer to the crimes laid to his charge. He declined to obey the order, and it was not possible to have him arrested.

The conduct of Mr. Maynier during these transactions was so much in accordance with the views of the government that in March 1794 he was confirmed in the appointment of landdrost.

In August 1793, while the greater part of the colony was in a disturbed condition, the people of Swellendam became apprehensive of an attempt by the Hottentots either to murder them or to drive them out of the country. In October 1788 a Hottentot captain named Kees had drawn suspicion upon himself by unfriendly and insolent demeanour, and at this time there was strong circumstantial evidence of his implication in the murder of two burghers named Labuschagne and Van Wyk and the wife of a third named Jan Oosthuizen. These murders had taken place under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and as the perpetrators had not been discovered, the people of the district were in a state of great alarm. Kees and the principal men of his clan were arrested and sent to Capetown. Kees's son Klaas admitted that there was a design to rise against the Europeans, but no other direct evidence could be obtained. After a time most of the Hottentots were set at liberty, but Kees and a few others were kept in permanent confinement as political prisoners.

It is a relief to turn from these scenes of contention and disorder, to notice the efforts that were made at this time by several colonists to improve the domestic animals of the country. In 1792 Mr. Jan Frederik Kirsten imported from England eight horses and three bulls for breeding purposes. So little encouragement did the government give to the enterprise that he was obliged to pay a duty of five per cent upon their value. In the same year Mr. Jacobus Arnoldus Kirsten imported five horses from Boston. Some skippers of American vessels, finding others disposed to imitate the Kirstens, made arrangements to bring over cattle of good quality, and in 1793 quite a number of horses, mares, bulls, and cows arrived from the New England States.

An association, of which Mr. Sebastiaan Valentyn van Reenen was principal director, made an effort to introduce merino sheep for the purpose of producing wool that would be saleable in Europe. Some of the common sheep showed traces of being descended in part from European animals introduced in the early years of the settlement, but their fleeces resembled hair rather than wool. The association tried first to obtain Dassen Island as a run where stock could be kept pure, but the government being unwilling to allow them the use of the island, in 1793 they imported a few Spanish rams, which were placed with selected ewes at Groenekloof. Six hundred half-breed lambs were cast. Mr. Jan Gysbert van Reenen removed his share, two hundred in number, to the Hantam, where they were found to thrive remarkably well. Some other flocks also did well, and though the experiment failed from causes hereafter to be related, it was proved that wool of fair quality could easily be produced.

A thousand kilogrammes of hair of the common sheep were sent by Mr. Abraham de Smidt to Holland, to ascertain whether it was of any value there, when it was proved not to be worth the cost of transport.

Since the return to Europe of George Schmit, the Moravian Society had frequently requested the assembly of seventeen to permit missionaries to be sent to the Hottentots, but hitherto without success. At this time the required leave was granted. In a despatch, dated 22nd of December 1791, the directors informed the Cape government that they had given the United Brethren permission to send to South Africa two or three missionaries who could administer the sacraments to any converts they might make, the only restriction being that they were not to occupy ground where Christian churches were already established. The government was instructed to give them such assistance as they might need.

In November 1792 three missionaries—by name Heinrich Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn, and Johan Christiaan Keuhnel—arrived from Holland in the *Duifje*. After looking about for a suitable site for a station, they selected Baviaans' Kloof, where George Schmit had laboured, and on the 18th of December the council, on their application, granted them the use of as much land there as they might require. Mr. Marthinus Theunissen, superintendent of a cattle station that had not yet been sold, was directed to provide transport for their effects, and to see that they obtained whatever they needed on the way.

Some remnants of the Chainouqua and Hessequa tribes of former days were still residing in the same parts o the country that their ancestors had occupied. They were free to roam over any land not given out as farms, and to settle wherever they chose. But nearly the whole of them were in service with colonists, and were in impoverished circumstances. Many farmers encouraged five or six families to live on their ground, in order to procure cattle herds and labourers at harvest time. To such tenants the farmer stood in the relationship of a kind of chief, and under circumstances like these the Hottentots in general passed an indolent but entirely dependent existence. Their old tribal names were quite lost beyond their own society, but among themselves the ancient distinctions were still preserved, and as late as 1815 there was a petty jealousy between the remnants of the Hessequas and the Chainouquas. It was with these people, who all spoke the Dutch language, and who were acquainted with the manner of living of Europeans, that the Moravians began to labour.

Upon the arrival of the missionaries, they found an aged Hottentot woman who had been baptized by Schmit, and who still preserved a New Testament which he had given to her. Under an old pear tree, planted by Schmit, they commenced to hold religious services, and soon succeeded in drawing a considerable number of Hottentots together. They laid out gardens, and gave one to each family to be retained during good behaviour. In this manner a village soon grew up. A large extent of ground was brought under cultivation by the personal labour of the missionaries, with such assistance as they could obtain from those who gathered around them. It was not long before a mill for grinding corn was built, and that was followed by the establishment of a small factory for making knives. A school for children was opened at once, and at stated hours that would interfere least with field labour the adults were collected together for instruction and prayer. The advantage of industry and cleanliness was impressed upon the pupils, not only by precept, but by example and the rules of the institution.

Baviaans' Kloof thenceforth became the home of a number of Hottentot families, some members of which were soldiers in the pandour corps and others in service with colonists. There these people were looked after by the missionaries with the greatest care, and whatever was possible was done for their improvement.

Everything went on well until the first baptisms took place, when a little jealousy was exhibited by some members of the consistory of Stellenbosch, who came to the council of policy with a request that the Moravians might either be required to remove from their parish, or to cease from administering the sacraments and so setting up a rival congregation. The request, however, was very mildly urged, and two members of the consistory itself—the elder Jan Groenewald and the deacon J. Detsch—protested against it on the grounds that the missionaries were far enough away from the place of worship of the Dutch reformed congregation, that they were quiet inoffensive men who were opposed to making proselytes from other Christian societies, and that if they were to be sent out of parishes of the established church they would be obliged to go beyond the colony. The proceedings of the consistory show that the spirit of toleration had made a great advance during recent years. The government replied that the request could not be acceded to, and the trifling attempt at opposition then ceased.

The missionaries themselves were men of good common sense as well as of great zeal, and from the first commanded the respect of the farmers in their neighbourhood. Political partisanship was studiously avoided, and social equality between European colonists and individuals just emerging from barbarism was not taught. The converts were regarded as children, requiring to be kept constantly under tutelage and moderate restraint. Thus these excellent men with the assistants who soon arrived and their devoted wives firmly laid the foundation of mission work by the Moravian Society, which has been of incalculable benefit to the coloured inhabitants of the colony.

To preserve order in Capetown, the commissioners general introduced a new system of police. In December 1792 the town was divided into twenty-three wards, and the gardens at the foot of Table Mountain into two, in each of which two burghers of respectability were selected to act as wardmasters. Their duties were to prevent nuisances of all kinds, to enforce cleanliness in the streets and public places, to give directions in case of fire, and generally to maintain order. All persons moving their residence from or into any ward were required to report to the wardmasters, and the arrival and departure of foreigners or strangers were to be reported to them by the lodging-house keepers. They were required to have their names and the word "wykmeester" posted up in large letters in front of their houses. Instead of a salary, they were exempted from the payment of rates and taxes levied for local purposes. They were subject to the directions of the committee of the high court of justice, to whom they were bound to send in periodical returns upon the state of the town. Every year half of the number were to be relieved of duty, and successors were to be appointed by the council of policy from a list of twice as many names submitted by the whole body of wardmasters and approved by the committee of the high court of justice.

In the staff of the public departments the commissioners-general made several changes. The appointment of the acting fiscal independent, Jacob Pieter de Nys, was confirmed, and he took his seat in the council of policy. He was the last who held that office, for upon his death in December 1793 the system was altered, and the great powers and privileges possessed by the fiscals independent were abrogated. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, who had been secretary of the high court of justice since April 1788, was then appointed with the title of fiscal only, and was made subject to the government just as much as the cashier or the issuer of stores, a seat in the council being given to him much lower down the table. Egbertus Bergh, secretary of the council of policy since August 1791, was promoted to be cashier, and a voice in the debates was given to him, but without the right of voting, as he was not a member of the established church. George Frederik Goetz was appointed his successor as secretary. Christoffel Brand, the resident at Simonstown, had a seat in the council given to him whenever he might be at the castle. Jan Arnold Voltelen was appointed head of the naval establishment, without a seat in the council. Major De Lille was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

There had not been many changes in the staff of clergymen during recent years.

In May 1785 the reverend Meent Borcherds, who had shortly before arrived from Holland, was appointed third clergyman of the Cape. In September of the following year the reverend Helperus Ritzema van Lier arrived from Holland, when Mr. Borcherds, at his own request, was transferred to the vacant church of Stellenbosch, and Mr. Van Lier succeeded him as third minister of the Cape. In July 1792 this clergyman's health broke down, so the commissioners-general permitted him to retire on a pension. The situation remained vacant until May 1794, when the reverend Mr. Kuys was removed from Waveren to fill it.

In March 1794 the reverend Michiel Christiaan Vos, a colonist by birth, arrived from Holland, where he had been officiating for some time, and in May was stationed at Waveren, in order to relieve Mr. Kuys.

In April 1786 the reverend Petrus van der Spuy, junior, who had completed his studies in the Netherlands, returned to South Africa, and was appointed to the vacant church of Zwartland.

There had been a little friction between the Dutch reformed and Lutheran consistories at the Cape on the subject of baptism of children whose parents did not both belong to the same church. The directors settled the matter to the satisfaction of all but a few who held extreme opinions, by issuing instructions that boys should be baptized in the church to which their father belonged, and girls in the church to which their mother belonged, all persons to be free at eighteen years of age to leave one communion and join the other, if they wished to do so.

In Europe the most important occurrences since the fall of the Roman empire were taking place at this time, and the attention of the South African colonists was of necessity drawn towards them, as this country could hardly fail to be affected in one way or other. The French monarchy had disappeared, and in its place was a republic instinct with energy and enthusiasm. In the Netherlands the antagonism between the democratic and conservative parties continued. The former leaned towards France, the latter towards England, with which kingdom the stadtholder had been in close alliance since 1788. Events had for some time been tending towards a rupture, when on the 1st of February 1793 the Convention issued from Paris a declaration of war with Great Britain and the government of the stadtholder. A French army under General Dumouriez immediately advanced to the Dutch frontier, and a considerable English force, under command of the duke of York, was sent to assist in the defence of the Netherlands.

From this date the ocean commerce past the Cape was greatly diminished. There are no shipping returns in our archives for the years between 1789 and 1796, except for 1794, in which year the number of vessels that put into South African ports was thirty-seven under the Dutch flag, eighteen English, twelve American, eleven Danish, five Italian, and three Portuguese, only eighty-six in all; but the constant complaints concerning the stagnation of trade, the absence of gold and silver money, and the want of merchandise, show how severely the colonists suffered.

Upon tidings of the commencement of war reaching the Cape, the commissioners-general were at a loss to know what to do for the defence of the colony. No regular troops could be expected to strengthen the garrison. They formed all the clerks and junior officers in the Company's service into a military company, which they termed the pennist corps, and appointed the member of council Willem Ferdinand van Reede van Oudtshoorn its commandant. Further, they raised a company of half-breeds and Hottentots, put them in uniform, and set them to learn to be soldiers. This corps was termed the pandours. No other means of strengthening the colony could be devised.

Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius now prepared to proceed to Java, the only duty left being to appoint some one to carry on the administration. Colonel Van de Graaff still retained the title of governor of the Cape Colony, but they were aware that he would never return from Europe. Of the secunde Rhenius they had not formed a high opinion. While they were looking about for a competent person, an old servant of the Company, Abraham Josias Sluysken by name, arrived at the Cape on his way to Europe from Surat, where he had for some years been employed as director of trade. He had resided here once before for a few months, when in 1765 he was taken ill and detained on the way to India. He was now returning home with a view of retirement when, in accordance with a rule of the service, he stopped at the Cape until his accounts could be audited, and while here made the acquaintance of Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius. They proposed to confer upon him the same power that they held themselves, and after a little persuasion he consented to undertake the duty of commissioner-general. He had thus more authority than a governor, for he could act in any matter without consulting the council, if he chose to do so. No salary was agreed upon. It was arranged that he should draw at the rate of £240 a month, and leave further remuneration to be settled by the directors. As far as state was concerned he was in a worse position than any head of the government since the time of the early commanders. Retrenchment had left no carriages or horses for his use, and he had no other residence than the house in Capetown. His wife and family went on to Holland, as he did not anticipate a lengthy residence in South Africa, and wished them to get settled.

Mr. Sluysken had no experience in military matters, his chief qualification being that he possessed a good knowledge of the manner of transacting business. In demeanour he was grave, and no barbarian was ever gifted in a higher degree with the power of concealing emotion of any kind. Under all circumstances he was calm and self-possessed. So great was his assurance that he could represent himself to either of the political parties in the fatherland as a devoted adherent, and be received as such by each. It is only by clearly analysing his conduct that his real attachment to the Orange faction can be ascertained, for his professions at different periods and to different audiences are all at variance with each other. Such was the man whose fate it was to preside over the destinies of the colony at the most critical time of its existence. He was raised to the dignity of ordinary councillor of Netherlands India, and on the 2nd of September 1793 was formally installed as commissioner-general and head of the Cape government. Immediately after the ceremony Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius embarked for Batavia, having spent much more time in South Africa than was anticipated when they left the Netherlands.

CHAPTER LIV.

ABRAHAM JOSIAS SLUYSKEN, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL, FROM 2ND SEPTEMBER 1793 TO 16TH SEPTEMBER 1795.

MR. SLUYSKEN took over the government of the Cape Colony under circumstances of great difficulty. The credit of the East India Company was exhausted, and its debt was ten million pounds sterling. In February 1794 it was obliged to declare itself unable to meet the interest on its loans. To maintain a garrison capable of defending the country in case of attack was beyond its power.

In the colony gold and silver coin had disappeared, and in its stead was a quantity of cartoon money resting on no other security than the ability of the Company to redeem it at some future time. Under these circumstances, internal trade, except by means of barter, had almost ceased. Debts could be paid in paper, for it was a legal tender, and therefore no one cared to give credit. The prohibition of trade with foreigners had created such distress that its enforcement had been suspended for three years; but now very few foreigners called. The little merchandise in the country was sold at such excessively dear rates that individuals of moderate means were obliged to dispense with many of the ordinary comforts of life. Fortunately, the seasons from 1786 to 1796 were good, and there was no scarcity of food in the country; but there was hardly any market for the surplus, except such as was furnished by the agent of the English East India Company for the supply of St. Helena and, before the outbreak of hostilities, by the agent of the French governments at Mauritius and Bourbon. Nothing worth speaking of could be exported to Europe, and the government had a difficulty in sending to India the wheat, wine, butter, and tallow that could be made use of there. The colonists had not yet been able to organise a foreign trade on their own account.

Along the whole northern border the struggle with the Bushmen was constant. On the eastern frontier war with the Xosas was being carried on, with no other assistance from the government than a scanty supply of ammunition. The great majority of the people were incensed with the Company, and, without thoroughly comprehending the question, were freely discussing the rights of man, as proclaimed by the French revolutionists. When they were informed that Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius had left South Africa without granting them any representative rights in the government, and that Mr. Sluysken had been placed with extraordinary powers at the head of affairs, several of them—among whom were Willem de Klerk, Frans Kruger, and Marthinus Prinsloo—openly refused to take the oath of fidelity. They were prepared to swear allegiance to the states-general of the Netherlands, they said, and to keep their oath; but the East India Company and its officials they would no longer obey. The government threatened them with punishment, but was unable to put its threats into execution.

Mr. Sluysken's chief attention was directed towards means of defence against the French, who, he was aware, were well acquainted with most of the existing fortifications and with every inch of ground in the Cape peninsula, as they had made an accurate survey when their troops were here from 1781 to 1784. He caused two small forts to be built in Simonstown, chiefly by means of convict and slave labour. The cost was thus trifling, for it was estimated that a slave was maintained for £4 14*s*. 9*d*. a year. The forts were completed in March 1794, when cannon were mounted on them, and they received the names Boetselaar and Zoutman. In May a garrison of one hundred and thirty men was stationed in Simonstown.

Three forts were also built at Hout Bay, so that if necessary ships might be sent there for security. They were named Sluysken, Gordon, and Little Gibraltar. The two first-named had cannon mounted upon them, but as there was no more artillery to spare, Little Gibraltar was left to be armed with the guns of any ships that might take shelter in the bay. A good deal of dependence was placed upon red hot shot, and appliances for heating cannon balls were attached to all the batteries.

In March 1795 a company of Stellenbosch burghers was required to repair to Capetown to strengthen the garrison, and was kept at the castle until the 15th of May, when it was supposed that an enemy would not care to enter Table Bay.

During 1794 the complaints of the burghers of Graaff-Reinet were unceasing with regard to the paper money, the stagnation of trade, the heavy taxes, the conduct of the landdrost, their being left without assistance to defend themselves against Xosas and Bushmen, the conditions of the arrangement with the Xosas which the government termed peace, and a few other matters of less importance, such as being obliged to pay a toll for a pontoon on the Breede river whether they used it or not, and the necessity of every one about to be married appearing before the matrimonial court in Capetown. The landdrost took no notice of their complaints, and while the colonists were being plundered and harassed by the Xosas in the Zuurveld, in his reports represented everything as in a peaceable and orderly condition. The burghers then sent a deputation to Capetown, provided with an enormous mass of evidence to show the incorrectness of Mr. Maynier's representations, and to request that he might be recalled and a man in whom they could have more confidence be appointed in his stead; but Commissioner Sluysken would not even investigate the matter. By this treatment the patience of the colonists was at length exhausted.

On the 4th of February 1795 a party of forty burghers assembled at the village of Graaff-Reinet, under the leadership of Adriaan van Jaarsveld and Jan Carel Triegard, who demanded an interview with the landdrost. They postponed pushing matters to an extremity, however, until the 6th, when the heemraden assembled. An altercation then took place, in which Marthinus Prinsloo, Jan Durand, and Pieter Joubert were the chief speakers on the side of the burghers. They required that the landdrost should leave the district. He endeavoured to remonstrate with them, but to no effect, and he was obliged to proceed to Capetown. Further, they expelled from office the lieutenant of militia Cornelis Coetsee and the heemraden Stephanus Naude and Hendrik Meintjes van den Berg, on account of those persons being partisans of Maynier; but they made no changes in the form of government of the district. As the Company's officers wore orange cockades, the burghers displayed the tricolour, and called themselves "Nationals." They declared that their opposition was not to the states-general, but to the corrupt servants of the East India Company.

The landdrost Maynier was charged with another offence, not yet mentioned. His opponents accused him of sheltering runaway servants and criminals to such an extent that at this time he had more than one hundred and twenty Hottentots in his private employment, cultivating his land. Many of these Hottentots, they asserted, were guilty of such serious crimes as housebreaking and robbery; but they could not be brought to justice, owing to the landdrost refusing to receive complaints against them as soon as they entered his service.

Mr. Sluysken then sent a commission consisting of Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, president of the high court of justice, and Captain Von Hugel, officer in charge of a depôt for recruits for the Wurtemburg regiment, with

Mr. Jan Andries Truter, secretary of the high court of justice, as secretary, to try to pacify the burghers. On the 30th of April the commission met the leaders of the "Nationals" at Graaff-Reinet, and after a short discussion, agreed to relieve the district of Mr. Maynier. Mr. Lambert Philip van der Poel, previously a clerk in Capetown, was installed provisionally as landdrost, with Mr. Hendrik Roselt as secretary. The commission was then requested by the burghers to make a tour along the frontier, and especially along the border of the Zuurveld, in order that an accurate report of the condition of the district might be made to government. But neither Mr. De Wet nor Captain Von Hugel would do this, though they were willing to receive evidence at the drostdy. What the burghers desired was that with their own eyes the members of the commission should see that the Zuurveld was actually in the occupation of the Xosas, and that a large portion of the remainder of the district had been devastated; but that was just what the government, whose servants they were, did not want to know or believe. The matter was frequently discussed during the next six weeks, till at length, finding that their wishes would not be complied with, on the 14th of June an armed party compelled the members of the commission to leave the district.

On the 6th of July a meeting of the acting and retired heemraden was held, when six representatives—Marthinus Prinsloo, Barend Bester, Christiaan Botha, Christiaan Lotter, Hendrik Klopper, and Andries Krugel,—elected by the people, took their seats at a separate table. The different officials were asked whether they were willing to continue their duties under a burgher administration. The provisional landdrost Van der Poel replied that he was, but he desired leave to visit Capetown. Thereupon he was appointed landdrost, and leave of absence was granted to him, Mr. Jan Booysen being chosen to act until his return. The secretary Roselt declared himself unwilling, on account of his oath of allegiance to the Company. He was dismissed, and another was appointed. The clergyman Von Manger consented to acknowledge the new authorities, and to unite in marriage any persons approved by them, without reference to the matrimonial court in Capetown. After this, the obnoxious stamp duty on auction sale accounts was declared abolished.

As Mr. Van der Poel was not permitted by Commissioner Sluysken to return to Graaff-Reinet, on the 27th of August the heemraden and representatives of the people appointed the lieutenant of militia, Carel David Gerotz, provisional landdrost, and confirmed his appointment on the 14th of September. On the 27th of August Adriaan van Jaarsveld was appointed to the highest military office in the district, with the title of president of the council of war.

All these proceedings were reported to Mr. Sluysken and the council of policy, as if they were quite in order, and the letters ended by the representatives of the people trusting that their conduct would meet with approval; but the fact was patent to everyone that the district of Graaff-Reinet was lost to the East India Company.

In Swellendam the people acted in a similar manner. Landdrost Faure was not detested by the burghers as Maynier was, and there was no complaint concerning his administration of justice; but he was accused of being a zealous agent of the East India Company, and of having permitted himself to be guided by Maynier in the Kaffir war of 1793. One offence only was brought home to him. Before the cattle recovered from the Xosas were divided, the militia officers proposed to present him with twelve oxen, and he accepted the present. His friends subsequently declared that the officers were instigated by Maynier, whose object was to have it in his power to get his fellow landdrost into trouble whenever he chose; and this is possible. At any rate, Mr. Faure took the cattle, and was now charged by the burghers with corruption for having done so.

On the 17th of June 1795 the court of landdrost and heemraden was in session at Swellendam, when a party of nine armed burghers, whose spokesman was Paul Fouche, interrupted the proceedings, and commanded the members not to leave the drostdy. There was a difference of opinion among the inhabitants of the district, a considerable number being still averse to revolutionary measures, but others had combined with the Nationals of Graaff-Reinet, and had elected a burgher named Pieter Jacobus Delport as their commandant. This party had determined to expel the officers of the East India Company, for which purpose they had come to the drostdy. In the afternoon a second message was sent to the board: that it was not convenient for the burghers to make known their desires that day, but they would do so on the following morning, and in the mean time no one must leave the place.

On the 18th the landdrost Faure and the heemraden Laurens de Jager, Pieter Pienaar, Hermanus Steyn, Hillegard Mulder, and Pieter du Pré assembled in the courtroom again. A large number of burghers had collected in front of the drostdy. These sent a deputation of four persons—Esaias Meyer, Jacobus Steyn, G. F. Rautenbach, and J. J. Botha—to communicate their orders to the board. The landdrost, secretary, and messenger of the court were commanded to resign their offices and to give over the drostdy, the secretary's house, and all the documents and funds belonging to the district, to Mr. Hermanus Steyn. The heemraad Laurens de Jager, who maintained that he was bound to the Company by his oath of office, was also dismissed. Hermanus Steyn was appointed landdrost, and a representative body, termed a National Assembly, was established. Thus a majority of the inhabitants of the district of Swellendam had thrown off the rule of the East India Company.

In Stellenbosch and in Capetown itself there were many who sympathised with these movements, and a very large proportion of the burghers in these places were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to free themselves from the Company's domination.

The troops in the colony consisted of a regiment of infantry mustering twenty-five officers and five hundred and forty-six rank and file, a corps of artillery mustering twenty-seven officers and four hundred and three rank and file, fifty-seven men belonging to the depôts of the regiments Meuron and Wurtemburg, and a corps of pandours two hundred and ten strong. The head of the whole military force was Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon. The infantry regiment was termed the national battalion, though it was composed of soldiers from nearly every country in the north of Europe, and there was hardly a Netherlander in it. It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille. All its officers were staunch adherents of the Orange party, and the rank and file were adherents of the party or nation who paid best. The artillery was in every respect superior. The men were Netherlanders with a small mixture of French and Germans, and were attached to the mother country. If not the whole, at least a large majority of this corps favoured the republican cause in Europe, and would have preferred to fight with the French rather than the English as allies.

With so many elements of weakness, the colony invited invasion. The English government was apprehensive of its falling into the possession of the French, by which the sea route to India would be endangered; and on the 2nd of February 1793, as soon as hostilities with France were certain, opened negotiations with the Dutch authorities concerning an increase of the garrison by forwarding British troops from St. Helena. The directors of the East India Company and the states-general were desirous of aid in the form of ships of war to guard the Cape peninsula, but if that could not be given they were prepared to accept with thankfulness the offer of troops. Correspondence on the subject was carried on until the end of May, when other matters took its place.

The government of the stadtholder was paralysed by the dissensions of the people, and was making the most urgent appeals to Great Britain for more liberal assistance in soldiers and money. The English authorities were complaining bitterly that upon their troops the defence of the Netherlands was mainly resting, and that the stadtholder and the states-general were not exerting themselves to raise money and men as they ought to do.

As time went on this controversy deepened. The British ministers refused to see how helpless the Dutch government really was, and even after Pichegru had replaced Dumouriez in the command of the French army of invasion, when one Dutch fortress after another was falling, when the states-provincial of Friesland were threatening to make peace with France on their own account if the states-general would not, and when it was almost impossible to get even hospital accommodation in Dutch towns for wounded British soldiers, on account of the strong antipathy of the patriot party to the English alliance, they still clung to the delusion that it was apathy, more than weakness, which prevented the stadtholder from putting a large and well-equipped force in the field.

In consequence of this belief they represented that the various services of a pressing and important nature in which the British forces were employed would not admit of their taking upon themselves the additional burden of defending the Cape Colony, and they suggested that the Dutch government should furnish a body of five hundred to a thousand men for the purpose, which the English East India Company would transport free of charge. But this was impossible, and the negotiations then fell through.

An intimation that the Dutch people might soon change sides in the war was made to Commissioner

Sluysken in a letter dated the 10th of October 1794, and signed by P. J. Guepin, chief advocate of the East India Company, with the knowledge and approbation of the directors. It was thus informally written that the stadtholder might know nothing about it. Mr. Guepin stated that matters were in a doubtful condition; the French armies were approaching, and had already occupied part of the country; it would therefore be necessary to keep careful watch, so as not to be surprised by any European enemy whatever. This letter was received at the Cape on the 7th of February 1795.

Except a rumour of the fall of Nymegen on the 8th of November, brought by a Swedish ship, nothing more was known of the course of events in the Netherlands until the 12th of April 1795, when the national frigate *Medenblik* arrived with two chartered ships in convoy. She had left Texel on the 22nd of December, and Captain Dekker, who commanded her, reported that a French army under General Pichegru was then besieging Breda and threatening to cross the Maas. The *Medenblik* brought no letters or despatches.

There were nine homeward bound ships at anchor in Table Bay, and as more were expected it was considered advisable to detain them that all might sail together. They were therefore sent to Simon's Bay, where they were soon afterwards joined by seven others. The cargoes of the whole were valued at £835,000. On the 19th of May they sailed under protection of the frigate *Scipio* and the brig of war *Comeet*, two vessels which had been waiting at the Cape six months for that purpose. Just after leaving Simon's Bay they scattered, and eight of them were picked up by hostile cruisers lying in wait off the island of St. Helena.

After the arrival of the *Medenblik* no intelligence from Europe was received until the 11th of June 1795, when a report reached the castle from the resident at Simonstown that at noon several ships of unknown nationality were beating into False Bay. Three hours later this report was followed by one from Muizenburg that the ships had cast anchor, and at ten in the evening a note was received from Simonstown stating that Captain Dekker of the *Medenblik* had sent a boat with a lieutenant to one of the strangers to ascertain particulars, that the lieutenant was to have waved a flag if they were friendly, but that no such signal had been made, and the boat had not yet returned.

The commissioner hereupon called the council of policy together, and at half past ten as many of the members as were in Capetown met in the castle. There were present, beside Mr. Sluysken, the secunde Johan Isaac Rhenius, Colonel Gordon, and Messrs. Jacobus Johannes le Sueur, Willem Ferdinand van Reede van Oudtshoorn, and Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld. They resolved unanimously to cause the signals of alarm to be made, summoning the burghers of the country districts to hasten to Capetown. Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was directed immediately to proceed to Simonstown with two hundred infantry and one hundred gunners, to strengthen the garrison there, which consisted of only one hundred and fifty men all told. The troops left within an hour, and reached their destination before the following noon.

The council broke up a little after midnight, but the members remained at the castle, and at half past two in the morning of the 12th the commissioner called them together again. He had just received a letter from Mr. Brand, the resident at Simonstown, informing him that Captain Dekker's boat had returned, bringing a gentleman named Ross with letters from the English admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and Major-General James Henry Craig for the head of the government. Mr. Brand had supplied Mr. Ross with a horse and a guide, and he had arrived at the castle. The letters delivered by him were three complimentary notes from the directors of the English East India Company to Commissioner Sluysken, and an invitation from Admiral Elphinstone to Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon to visit his ship for the purpose of receiving important information as well as a missive from the stadtholder. Mr. Ross, who was conversant with the Dutch language, was secretary to Major-General Craig. He evaded all questions concerning the state of affairs in Europe or the destination of the fleet.

Lieutenant Van Vegezak, of the *Medenblik*, who had been on board the English admiral's ship, arrived at the castle while the council was still sitting. He stated that he had not been able to obtain any other information than that the fleet consisted of three ships of seventy-four guns, named the *Monarch*, *Arrogant*, and *Victorious*, three of sixty-four guns, named the *America*, *Ruby*, and *Stately*, a frigate of twenty-four guns named the *Sphinx*, and two sloops of war, the *Echo* and *Rattlesnake*, respectively of eighteen and sixteen guns. The admiral commanding was Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and there were troops on board, how many he could not ascertain, under command of Major-General James Henry Craig.

The expedition was sent from England as soon as possible after the overthrow of the stadtholder's government, when the British ministers at once realised that they must depend upon the exertions of their own country alone to keep the French out of India. The fleet had made a rapid passage.

One division, under Commodore Blankett, sailed from Spithead on the 13th of March, and the other, under Admiral Elphinstone, followed on the 3rd of April. The two squadrons united off the Cape on the 10th of June.

In reply to the letter of Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, the council informed them that it was not possible for either Commissioner Sluysken or Colonel Gordon to leave Capetown, and invited them to send a trustworthy officer with the information and despatches. The resident at Simonstown was instructed to permit the

English fleet to take in provisions, but not to allow armed men to land.

There was at Muizenburg a signal station, with a couple of mortars in position to command the road from Simonstown, but no fort. Before daylight the militia captain Pieter de Waal with eighty-four Cape burghers, and thirty gunners with three small field-pieces, were on their way to occupy that post.

The defensive works of Simon's Bay consisted of the batteries Boetselaar and Zoutman, the former provided with six and the latter with four small cannon. They were incapable of offering effectual resistance to a force such as that under the English admiral. On the 13th of June instructions were sent to Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille to leave a small garrison in each of them, and to strengthen the post at Muizenburg with two hundred infantry and one hundred and forty artillerymen.

In the afternoon of the following day there arrived at the castle Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie of the second battalion of the seventy-eighth regiment, Captain Hardy, of the *Echo* sloop of war, and Mr. Ross, secretary to General Craig, who handed to Commissioner Sluysken a mandate from the prince of Orange, dated at Kew on the 7th of February 1795, ordering him to admit the troops of the king of England into the forts and elsewhere in the colony, also to admit British ships of war into the ports, and to consider such troops and ships of war as the forces of a friendly power sent to protect the colony against the French. They also delivered to the commissioner a letter from Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, in which an account of the condition of the Netherlands was given. The winter in Europe had been an excessively severe one, he was informed, and towards the close of January the rivers were frozen so hard that the French armies crossed into Utrecht and Gelderland, compelling the English forces to retire into Germany and the Dutch forces to surrender. In a few days the French were in possession of the whole country without any terms of capitulation, and the stadtholder was obliged to make his escape in a fishing boat, which conveyed him from Scheveningen to England. Great Britain and her allies were, however, raising large armies, and they were confident of being able to drive out the French in the next campaign.

The statements made in this letter fell short of giving complete particulars, which under the circumstances it would have been injudicious to disclose, and, throughout the negotiations which followed, the officials and inhabitants of the colony were studiously kept in ignorance that the democratic party in the Netherlands had given the French an enthusiastic welcome, that the national government had been remodelled, and that the states-general had abolished the stadtholderate. No newspapers were supplied, though asked for. The view which the British officers tried to impress was that the Netherlands had been conquered and were being subjected to very rigorous treatment by the French. They did not wish it to be known that a national government was still in existence, and that the majority of the people regarded the French as friends.

The council took the mandate of the prince of Orange and the letter of the English officers into careful consideration. Even if written in the Netherlands, the mandate would not have been officially of any force, as it was signed by the prince of Orange alone; but having been written in a foreign country by a fugitive prince, it could not be held to have any weight whatever. Every member of the council sympathised strongly with the Orange faction, but there was no evading the fact that their allegiance was due to the mother country, and not to a party. Any day intelligence might arrive from the Netherlands, and it was therefore important to gain as much time as possible. With this object in view, the council wrote to Admiral Elphinstone that the fleet would be supplied with provisions, and requested that only small parties of unarmed men might be sent on shore. They were grateful, they said, to the British government for the evidence of its friendship, and in case the colony should be attacked by the French they would ask the British officers in the fleet for assistance, though they were in the fortunate position of being able to resist a hostile power. They desired to be informed what number of troops could be furnished to aid them, if necessary.

An answer was sent that General Craig would proceed to Capetown and give them further information. In the mean time the burgher forces were beginning to arrive from Stellenbosch, and on the 15th of June two hundred horsemen were sent to strengthen the post at Muizenburg.

On the 18th of June General Craig, attended by three officers and his secretary, arrived in Capetown and had an interview with the commissioner. On the following day the council of policy met, when the general communicated to the members the object of his mission and the manner in which he had been instructed to carry it out. The fleet and troops, he stated, had been sent by his Britannic Majesty to protect the colony until the restoration of the ancient form of government in the Netherlands, when it would be in his Majesty's power to restore it to its proper owner. No alterations would be made in the laws or the customs of the country without the expressed desire of the inhabitants, nor would any additional taxation be imposed. The people would be required to defray the cost of their government as it then existed, but nothing more. They would be at liberty to trade with England and the English possessions in India. The troops would be paid by England, and would be required to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty for the time that he should be in possession of the colony. The civil servants would retain their offices until his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The council replied in writing, declining to entertain the proposal, and informing the general that they were determined to protect the colony with their own forces against any power that should attack them.

Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, upon the return of the latter to Simon's Bay, issued a proclamation in which the government and inhabitants were invited and required to place themselves under his Britannic Majesty's protection, as the French would undoubtedly endeavour to obtain possession of the dependencies of the Netherlands.

Three days later the English officers issued an address, in which the offer of protection under the conditions named by General Craig was repeated, and a committee of the inhabitants was invited to come to Simonstown to confer with them. The address was issued in the Dutch and German languages, and a good many copies were distributed. It put before the colonists the alternative of a French or an English occupation. The former was pictured as a government on jacobin principles, with the tree of liberty and the guillotine, freedom of the slaves accompanied by such horrors as those which had laid waste the rich and beautiful islands of St. Domingo and Guadeloupe, total cessation of intercourse with Europe, annihilation of commerce, and absence of money and the necessaries of life. The latter as protection by the only power in Europe able to assure safety of person and property under the existing laws or others that the inhabitants might desire, free sale of all productions of the country at the best prices obtainable, release from imposts intended for the exclusive benefit of the Dutch East India Company, commerce by sea or land from one part of the colony to another, and better pay for such soldiers as might choose to enter the English service.

In consequence of this proceeding, the council notified a desire to be excused from further communications; still the correspondence was continued. On the 26th the admiral and general wrote a long letter, the keynote of which was that the Netherlands had been absorbed by

France, and as the Cape Colony if left to itself would be absorbed also, his Britannic Majesty could not allow it to fall into the hands of his enemies. The council replied that there was a great difference between offering assistance against an invader and requiring them to surrender the colony to the British government.

At this stage the further supply of provisions to the fleet was prohibited. The post at Muizenburg was strengthened by another detachment of burgher horsemen, and by the pandours under Commandant Jan Gerhard Cloete. The troops that had garrisoned the battery Boetselaar were also removed to Muizenburg, only one man being left behind to spike the guns in case the English should land.

As soon as the design of the British officers was known, those burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch who had hitherto been refractory ceased opposing the government, and declared themselves ready to assist in the defence of the colony to the utmost of their power. When the commissioner announced that the country would not be surrendered, he was met with loud huzzas in the streets, and was hailed as Father Sluysken. The great majority of the colonists, being attracted by the catchwords adopted by the republican party in Europe, were ready to welcome the French, if they could not be left to themselves. In the various contemporary accounts of the transactions of the time a very bitter feeling towards the English is displayed, particularly by the uneducated people at a distance from the town. They reminded each other how English visitors had for years been predicting that the colony would one day be subject to Great Britain, and now, they asserted, an attempt was being made under the name of friendship to turn that prediction into reality. They had evidently met some very boastful individuals, from whom they had formed their opinions, for arrogance was spoken and written of as if it was the most prominent feature of the English character.

On the other hand, the high officials, though professing that it was their duty to defend the colony, were at heart lukewarm in the matter. Colonel Gordon stated that he was prepared to admit the English troops if the jacobins should threaten an attack. He was even disposed to admit them under existing circumstances if they would declare that they would hold the country entirely for the prince of Orange, but he said he would resist them to the last drop of his blood if their object was to obtain possession for Great Britain. He could not be quite certain on this point, though the English officers asserted in the plainest language that the colony would be restored to the Netherlands as soon as the government of the stadtholder was re-established. They believed when they arrived that he would at once join them, probably reckoning upon his being partly of Scotch descent* as well as wholly of Orange proclivities. As it was, he did not throw his energy into resisting them, neither did Commissioner Sluysken, upon whom the chief responsibility rested, and who had complete control over the council. Most of the officials of lower grade and a few of the burghers of the town were willing to welcome the English troops, and went about singing Orange songs,† believing that the object of the British government really was to hold the country in trust for the fugitive stadtholder.

On the 21st of June the *Medenblik* sailed for Batavia, but unaccompanied by the two ships which had come from Europe under her protection. Captain Dekker was desirous of conveying intelligence to the Indian authorities of events in the Netherlands and at the Cape. The British admiral, who wished to avoid actual hostilities, if that was possible, made no objection to his leaving, but required him to promise on his word of honour not to put into any French port on the passage.

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* He was born at Doesburg on the Eyssel. His father was a Scotch officer in the Dutch service, but his mother was a Dutch woman. He was trained in a Scotch regiment in the service of the States, and spoke and wrote the English language almost as fluently as the Dutch.

† These songs irritated the other faction exceedingly. Only part of one of them has been preserved, and it consists of wretched doggerel, with the refrain

"Speeld op bas, viool, en snaren,
'K wil 't Oranjehuis bewaren."

The offer of being taken into the British service with an increase of pay, made to soldiers who were chiefly foreign mercenaries and who had long received nothing but cartoon money, was sufficient to induce some of those of the so-called national battalion at Muizenburg to desert. In less than a fortnight twenty-three of them changed sides, and desertions continued to be common until a few weeks later when two who were caught by a burgher patrol were tried and punished with death.* Not a single artilleryman abandoned his colours.

The militia at Muizenburg were living in great discomfort. The soldiers were provided with tents, but there were very few to spare for the burghers, who had to make shelters of bushes and reeds. It was the winter season, and although during June and July the weather was unusually mild and very little rain fell, sleeping in the open air was unpleasant. The burghers were relieved every third day by fresh detachments from the town, so that they were able to keep their horses in good condition. Each man received daily eight shillings in cartoon money, with which to provide for himself and his horse.

The two chartered ships which had come from Europe under protection of the *Medenblik* were still lying in Simon's Bay, and on the 24th of June a homeward bound ship from Batavia came to anchor there also. Commissioner Sluysken sent their skippers instructions to proceed to Table Bay, but Admiral Elphinstone prohibited their sailing. On the 28th of June two small vessels under the American flag arrived in Simon's Bay. One—the

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* The British admiral wrote of this circumstance that two of his men had been arrested and shot, and described the act as one of hostility.

Columbia—was from Amsterdam, where she had been chartered to convey despatches to the Cape and Batavia. She was at once placed under guard by the English admiral, and her mails were taken possession of. Instructions were issued that no newspapers should be allowed to reach the shore; but one escaped the vigilance of the sentries, and came into possession of a Cape burgher. It contained a notice by the states-general, dated the 4th of March 1795, absolving all persons in the Netherlands and in the Dutch colonies from the oath of allegiance to the prince of Orange. The letters were examined by British officers, and portions of many of them, as also some annexures to despatches, were detained. The residue of the correspondence was then sent by the admiral to Capetown for delivery. But from the notice in the newspaper and the letters to private individuals, mutilated as they were, it was ascertained that the French were treating with the Netherlands as an independent republic, that the stadtholderate had been abolished by the national will, and that the French were regarded as friends.

With this knowledge, the commissioner and the council asserted that it was simple duty to do their utmost to prevent the English from obtaining possession of the colony. There was a possibility that the fleet might be forced to sail if no provisions could be obtained. There was further a possibility of aid reaching them from Europe if they could hold out long enough. Perhaps too, as Mr. Sluysken afterwards pleaded, though there is nothing on record at the time to show that such a motive was then in the mind of any one, the disadvantage to the mother country of a voluntary surrender of the colony had something to do with their decision. If they held out and were overpowered, it was unquestionable that the Netherlands would have a much better claim to the restoration of the country when peace should be made, than if they placed themselves without a struggle under the protection of Great Britain. With these objects in view, and perhaps, as the burghers afterwards declared must be the case, because there was nothing to lose in opposing the English provided they did not altogether repel them, and there might be a strong combined French and Dutch fleet on the way out, in which case their heads would be in danger if they made no show of resistance, on the 29th of June the commissioner and the chief of the army, with the concurrence of the remaining members of the council, issued orders for the abandonment of Simonstown. That night all the provisions in the place were destroyed, the guns in the batteries Boetselaar and Zoutman were spiked, all the ammunition that could not be carried away was thrown into the sea, and the troops and most of the inhabitants retired, leaving behind only the assistant resident—Mr. Jan Hendrik Brand—with two slaves to serve him, and the widows Auret and Aspeling with their households. Mrs. Auret left a few weeks later, but Mrs. Aspeling preferred to remain and take care of her property. The troops joined the other forces at Muizenburg.

Two English men-of-war were blockading Table Bay, where the Company's packet brig *Star* was at anchor. The council therefore chartered from Messrs. Van Reenen a cutter of theirs which was at anchor in Saldanha Bay, and sent her to Batavia with despatches. She sailed at midnight on the 14th of July.

CHAPTER LV.

ABRAHAM JOSIAS SLUYSKEN, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL, (*continued*).

WHEN the signals calling the burghers to the Cape were first made, only seventy men belonging to the district of Swellendam responded to them. The Nationals declined to obey. On the 22nd of June Commissioner Sluysken wrote urging them to do their duty, and on the following day Messrs. A. Horak and N. Linde addressed a strong appeal to them. Still they made no response. On the 7th of July the burgher councillors requested Commissioner Sluysken and the council of policy to offer them an amnesty for the past and reasonable redress of grievances as soon as possible, if they would assist in the defence of the country. This request was complied with, but the offer was not at first well received, as they wished the term "reasonable redress of grievances" to be clearly defined.

At the instance of a considerable number of burghers, on the 16th of July the five individuals who called themselves the national assembly—Hermanus Steyn, Anthonie van Vollenhoven, Ernst du Toit, Pieter Jacobus Delport, and Louis Almoro Pisani—met in session, and framed an answer. In language which is only intelligible to those who are acquainted with the circumstances of the country at the time, they stated that they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood, if necessary, in defence of freedom; but they were willing to treat with the commissioner and to render assistance if he would guarantee to them exemption from the payment of direct taxes, free trade, the withdrawal of the cartoon money, permission to retain in perpetual slavery all Bushmen made prisoners by commandos or individuals, and several other favours of less importance.*

The letter was hardly despatched, however, when many of them became suddenly conscious that their claims would certainly be ignored if the English got possession of the country. They therefore resolved, while maintaining their right to self-government to a very large extent, to aid in the defence; and one hundred and sixty-eight mounted men, under Commandant Delport, left for Capetown. Upon arriving at the farm of the widow Morkel in Hottentots-Holland, they sent to ask assurance of safety. Messrs. A. Horak and G. H. Meyer were instructed by Commissioner Sluysken to convey this to them, and on the 26th of July they arrived at the castle. The Swellendam burghers were then formed into three companies, one of ninety-six men under Captain J. J. Botha, one of eighty men under Captain H. Mulder, and one of sixty-two men under Captain L. de Jager.

After Delport left, some forty or forty-five individuals, chiefly discharged soldiers and persons of little standing, elected Pisani to be their commandant, and threatened to confiscate the property of those who were aiding the Company. Pisani was an Italian who arrived in this country as a soldier. After a while he deserted and wandered over the colony, but returned to his regiment on a promise of pardon. When the garrison was reduced he obtained leave to seek service among the farmers, and finally, in 1792, was discharged and became a burgher. He was married to a daughter of the farmer Jan Crafford, and had three children. Under this man's

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*This document is printed in Mr. Sluysken's *Verbaal*, and by the insertion of a comma where none should be it is made to show that the slavery of Hottentots also was demanded. This was not the case. The Bushmen were commonly called in the colony Bushmen-Hottentots, and the words should have been printed in this form, not "Bushmen, Hottentots," etc.

leadership, the extreme section of the Nationals marched towards the Cape, and on the 10th of August reached Waveren. From this place, Pisani wrote to Commissioner Sluysken, demanding a reply to the letter from the national assembly, and threatening hostilities if a favourable answer were not forwarded within twenty-four hours. The commissioner at once set a price of £200 upon his head, dead or alive. Some of his former associates joined an expedition against him, and on the 13th of August he and two other discharged soldiers were arrested at the house of Marthinus Roux at the Tigerberg. Pisani was committed to prison, from which he only emerged some months later to go into banishment from the colony for life.

From the district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein six hundred and fifty-eight mounted burghers had arrived. They were in five companies, under the captains Loubser, Myburgh, Van der Byl, Hoffman, and Cloete. The Cape district furnished two hundred and forty-four mounted burghers, formed into two companies under the captains De Waal and Goosen. Thus there were altogether in the field eleven hundred and forty burgher horsemen. About two hundred were constantly at Muizenburg, the others were stationed in Capetown, with pickets along the road to the camp.

On the 9th of July Admiral Elphinstone took possession of the three Dutch ships in Simon's Bay, stating that he did so to prevent their destruction by their crews. One of them, the *Willemstad en Boetselaar*, a new and well-found ship of a thousand tons burden and carrying twenty-six guns, two months later was renamed the *Princess*, and became a British cruiser. On the 14th four hundred and fifty men of the second battalion of the seventy-eighth regiment were landed and occupied Simonstown, where a week later they were joined by four hundred marines.

With most people these would certainly be considered acts of war, yet neither the English commanders nor

Commissioner Sluysken chose to regard them as such. The commissioner issued orders that no attack was to be made upon the English patrols, nor anything done to provoke them to retaliate or give them an opportunity to throw the blame upon the Dutch of commencing hostilities. On the 3rd of August a burgher officer named Jacobus van Reenen with a party of pandours proceeded along the hills above Simonstown to make observations, and fired towards an English picket, when one man was slightly wounded. For this he was reprimanded, because in the commissioner's opinion the English might construe it into an act of war. And in General Craig's despatches it is described as the commencement of hostilities.

Boats from the English ships were allowed to come unmolested and take soundings in front of the camp at Muizenburg. A strong battery had been erected to command the road from Simonstown, but there were no defences on the side of the sea. The burgher and artillery officers desired that earthworks should be thrown up to protect the camp from the guns of ships, but the commissioner and Colonel Gordon decided that it would be unnecessary labour, as in their opinion no ships could get close enough to the shore to do any damage. And when at last leave was obtained to place two twenty-four pounders in position to face the sea, no platforms were made for them to rest on, so that they were practically of little use.

The soldiers at Muizenburg had no lack of provisions. There was a year's supply of grain and wine in the magazines at Capetown, and food in abundance was forwarded without difficulty. So much wine and brandy, indeed, was sent, that there was sufficient for a month's consumption in advance.

The British officers now resolved to take possession of that post, in order to open communication with the country once more, as they were completely isolated at Simonstown. The admiral was anxious to proceed to India and secure Trincomalee before the change of the monsoon, and he was therefore averse to longer delay in South Africa, though his instructions required him to avoid hostilities if possible. The position of matters appeared to him and General Craig not unfavourable for an advance.

From two officers of the English East India Company who had been some time resident in Capetown they had obtained information concerning the disturbances in the interior of the colony and the dissensions among the burghers generally. They were confident that the national battalion would not oppose them, and they had even strong hope of being joined by that regiment as soon as the first shot was fired.

On the other hand, they could not bring a force of more than sixteen hundred men into action, and they had not a single field gun. They had sent the *Sphinx* to St. Helena to request Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Brooke, who was then governor of that island, to forward to them all the troops and artillery he could spare, together with a supply of silver money, but had as yet received no other assistance than £5,000 in coin brought by the *Orpheus* Indiaman, which arrived on the 5th of August. The great majority of the colonists were opposed to them, and any force they could send beyond reach of their ships' guns could therefore easily be destroyed if a French squadron should appear in Table Bay.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the British commanders decided to attempt to get possession of Muizenburg, and from that position to renew negotiations with the Cape government, but not to proceed farther until the arrival of Major-General Alured Clarke, who was on his way from England with strong reinforcements.

On the morning of the 7th of August there were at the Muizenburg camp two hundred men of the national battalion, one hundred and twenty artillerymen, two hundred burgher cavalry, and one hundred and fifty pandours.

There was also a small guard at Kalk Bay. About an hour after noon another hundred burgher horsemen arrived as a relief. Just as they reached the camp it was observed that some of the English ships were under sail, but no particular regard was at first paid to their movements, as for several days previously Admiral Elphinstone had caused vessels to cruise round the bay.

In a very few minutes, however, it became evident that the British forces were about to make an attack. For this purpose a column had been formed of soldiers of the second battalion of the seventy-eighth regiment, marines, and sailors, in all sixteen hundred men. Major-General Craig was in command, and under him the naval brigades were led by Captains Spranger and Hardy of the *Rattlesnake* and *Echo*, sloops of war. The admiral had converted a little vessel into a gunboat, which he named the *Squib*, and mounted two cannons—one nine and one eighteen pounder—on her deck. The ships' launches were also armed with light guns, and with the *Squib* were directed to row along the shore about four hundred and fifty or five hundred metres in advance of the column, in order to keep the road open. The sea in False Bay was smooth, but a gentle breeze was blowing from the north-west, sufficient to keep a ship in motion. The *America*, *Stately*, *Echo*, and *Rattlesnake*, under command of Commodore Blankett, set their sails and stood over to the Muizenburg beach.*

Along the margin of False Bay, from Kalk Bay to Muizenburg, a steep mountain rises only a few paces from the water's edge. On the narrow strip of comparatively level ground was the road, then as to-day the only passage by which troops could march from Simonstown

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*In the public record office in London there is a document recounting his services drawn up by Sir George Elphinstone (then Lord Keith) some years later, in which it is stated that on the 7th of August with the *America*, *Stately*, *Echo*, *Prince of Wales* armed transport, and two gunboats he cannonaded Muizenburg and lost several men. The only way of accounting for the error—for such it certainly is—is by supposing that the statement was drawn up from a defective memory.

to Capetown. At Muizenburg the mountain terminates abruptly, and is succeeded by the sandy plain called the Cape flats, extending from False Bay to Table Bay and forming the isthmus that connects the Cape peninsula with the African continent. On these flats, close to the end of the mountain, is a large sheet of shallow water called Sandvlei, with a brook, which flows only after rain and is known as Keyser's river, emptying into it on the northern side. The Dutch camp was at the foot of the mountain facing False Bay, and eleven pieces of artillery commanded the road.

The English ships fired a few guns at the outpost at Kalk Bay, which caused the picket there to retire over the mountain. Sailing on until abreast of Muizenburg they anchored and then opened their broadsides upon the camp; but the first shot was hardly fired when De Lille with the infantry of the national battalion abandoned the post. The main body, led by the colonel, fled hastily through Sandvlei. One company of fifty men, under Captain Warnecke, retired in better order and more slowly along the base of the Steenberg.

Some of the artillerymen followed, leaving a company under Lieutenant Marnitz to work the two twenty-four pounders. With these the English fire was answered, but without much effect. The *America* had two men killed and four wounded, and one of her guns was disabled by Lieutenant Marnitz's fire. The *Stately* had one man wounded. A few balls passed quite through both these ships, but only injured them to a trifling extent. The range of the English guns was so high that the shot passed over the camp and struck the mountain above. The Dutch guns, resting on loose soil, required to be got into position after every discharge, and Lieutenant Marnitz was soon convinced that the camp could not be held. He therefore spiked the two cannon, and retired as the English column, which had marched from Simonstown, but was without artillery, came charging along the road. Nothing was taken from the camp by the retreating troops but five small field-pieces.

It is no stigma upon the burgher cavalry and the pandours that they were swept round the mountain in confusion by the fire from the ships, and did not wait to meet the advancing column. The English followed with cheers; but at the first point out of range of the ships' guns, the artillerymen and burghers made a stand. From this they were driven by a charge of two companies of the seventy-eighth under Major Moneypenny. Behind the mountain, however, they again turned upon their pursuers. Captain Kemper, who was retreating with some artillerymen on the other side of Sandvlei, seeing this, brought a gun to bear upon the English with such effect that they fell back to Muizenburg. The casualties were one English officer, one burgher, two Dutch artillerymen, and one pandour wounded.

De Lille with the infantry could easily have made a stand behind Sandvlei, at the mouth of the brook, as at that point his front would have been protected and the field-pieces which he had with him would have commanded the road where it leaves the beach at Muizenburg and turns off nearly at a right angle into the sandy plain. Instead of doing so, he continued his flight in the greatest confusion to Lochner's farm at Diep River, some eight hundred metres or thereabouts on the western side of the present main road, and between the Eaton convalescent home and Constantia. The colonel arrived there without knowing what had become of the artillerymen and the burghers.

As soon as the signal was made that the English were advancing, five companies of burgher horsemen hastened from Capetown towards Muizenburg; but on the way they met the fugitives, and learned that the camp was lost with everything in it. They remained on the flats that night, scattered about in parties of ten and twenty.

Next morning De Lille with some of the infantry returned to the head of Sandvlei, but fled precipitately upon a column of English seamen and marines advancing to attack him, though they had to wade through the vlei with the water in some places above their waists. The English pursued until they were surprised by finding a party of burghers and pandours emerging from behind some sandhills on their flank. They in their turn then fled, thinking they were being drawn into a trap, and were followed by the burghers and pandours until these were checked by the fire of the cannon which had been abandoned and spiked by Lieutenant Marnitz on the previous day, but which General Craig had caused to be drilled and placed in position at the end of the mountain. In the pursuit of the English De Lille gave no assistance whatever, but, on the contrary, while they were running towards Muizenburg he was running in the opposite direction. That evening he formed a camp at or very near the site of the present military buildings at Wynberg, about a kilometre and a half from the farm where he had passed the previous night.

The burgher officers Botha, Loubser, De Waal, Van der Byl, Goosen, Hoffman, and Mulder now drew up a document in which Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was charged with treason, and forwarded it to the commissioner. He was thereupon sent to the castle under arrest, and on the 10th of August Captain Van Baalen was placed in command of the camp at Wynberg. De Lille's conduct was investigated by the fiscal, and he was acquitted of treason. The popular fury against him was, however, so great, that he was kept in confinement to ensure his safety. There is certainly no proof that he deliberately entered into an agreement with the British officers to betray his trust,* still his conduct cannot be attributed to either imbecility or cowardice. He was a devoted adherent of the Orange party, and regarded the English as supporters of the Orange cause, so would not fight against them. Successful resistance, in his opinion, would have been equivalent to giving up the country to the Nationals, whom he hated. At the earliest opportunity he entered the British service, on the 27th of October was appointed barrack master in Capetown, and thereafter was in the habit of wearing the Orange cockade, professing devotion to the English, and in his revels venting abhorrence of the jacobins, whether in France, or the Netherlands, or South Africa.

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* There is a strong probability, however, that he assured the British officers shortly after their arrival that he would assist them. Apart from the confidence which they had all along that his regiment would

On the 9th of August the transport *Arniston* arrived in Simon's Bay from St. Helena, with three hundred and ninety-eight soldiers in the service of the English East India Company, nine pieces of field artillery, a quantity of ammunition, and a considerable sum of silver money, forwarded by Governor Brooke.

Three days later Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig wrote again to Commissioner Sluysken, the council, and the inhabitants. They announced that they had received some reinforcements, and expected immediately three thousand more soldiers. They had left England hastily in order to reach the Cape before the French, and only brought with them such land forces as could be accommodated in the men-of-war. But when they sailed, a number of Indiamen were being made ready to bring out troops, and these were now due. They repeated the offer to take the Cape under British protection upon the same terms as those announced ever since their arrival, and they added that their people were becoming exasperated and it might be impossible to restrain their fury if resistance were made much longer.

not oppose them, Admiral Elphinstone, writing to the secretary of state for war on the 17th of June, said: "I went on shore . . . I met there a gentleman with an unequivocal message from one of Rank among the Troops respecting himself and a number of men." There was no officer of rank at that time in the neighbourhood except De Lille.

The commissioner laid this letter before the council of policy, the burgher councillors, and the burgher militia, with a request for an expression of opinion. In the council of policy, Messrs. Sluysken, Rhenius, Gordon, De Wet, Brand, Van Ryneveld, and Bergh voted not to give up the colony while resistance could be offered. Mr. Le Sueur differed, as he saw no possibility of successful resistance against so powerful an enemy. Mr. Van Reede van Oudtshoorn was absent.

The burgher councillors—Messrs. J. Smuts, G. H. Meyer, H. J. de Wet, A. Fleck, H. A. Truter, and H. P. Warnecke—unanimously adopted a resolution that the colony ought to be defended to the very last. The burghers were assembled, and the letter was read to them. They were of the same opinion as the councillors, and the militia officers without an exception signed a document to that effect.

On the 18th of August the commissioner communicated to the British officers the resolution of the people, and announced that the colony would still be defended.

But in spite of these brave words, even if all who used them were in earnest, which is doubtful, the means of resistance were daily becoming less. There were rumours that the Bushmen in the interior were particularly troublesome, and that the Hottentots in the district of Swellendam and the slaves in Stellenbosch and Drakenstein meditated insurrection. Whether these rumours were true or false, many burghers returned home to protect their families. Feelings of patriotism, however strong, were too weak to keep a body of militia together under such circumstances. From eleven hundred and forty men, which the burgher cavalry numbered during July and the first fortnight in August, they fell off to about nine hundred at the beginning of September. The burgher infantry, three hundred and fifty strong, which was composed of residents of the town, remained intact. The government endeavoured to enlist more pandours, and a commission was sent to the country districts to obtain half-breeds and Hottentots for the purpose, but met with no success.

On the morning of the 1st of September the burghers, aided by some of the pandours, attempted to get possession of the English outposts on the Steenberg; but not being supported by the regular troops, nor being allowed the use of the field-pieces which they needed, they were unsuccessful. Among those severely wounded on the English side on this occasion were Major Moneypenny of the seventy-eighth and Captain Dentaffe of the St. Helena regiment. The total loss of the English forces since the arrival of the fleet was brought up to five rank and file killed and four officers and thirty-nine rank and file wounded.

On the same day a mutiny broke out in the pandour corps. Commandant Cloete was ill, and the men had little regard for the other officers. One hundred and seventy of them marched with their arms to the castle, declaring they would fight no longer. They complained that some of their families had been ill treated by Europeans during their absence, that their pay was inadequate, that they were subject to abusive remarks, that £40 which had been promised to them as a reward for good conduct had not yet been distributed, and that their rations of spirits were insufficient. Commissioner Sluysken did what he could to pacify them. He promised to raise their pay from eight to twelve shillings a month, to see that they and their families were well treated, and to allow them an increase of spirits and wine. He succeeded in inducing them to return to the camp, but they went back sullen and obstinate, and were thereafter of very little service.

An attack by night upon the English camp at Muizenburg was planned, and was about to be attempted when on the 4th of Septemher the Indiamen *Northumberland*, *Prince William Henry*, *Exeter*, *Worcester*, *Osterly*, *Kent*, *Bruns-*

wick, *Bombay Castle*, *Earl Cornwallis*, *Earl Howe*, *Deptford*, *General Coote*, and *Warren Hastings*, with the armed transport *Prince of Wales* entered Simon's Bay. They had on board the second battalion of the eighty-fourth, the ninety-fifth, and the ninety-eighth regiments of the line, with a strong body of engineers and artillerymen, in all three thousand troops, under command of Major-General Alured Clarke. Many of the burgher cavalry now gave up all hope, and left for their homes, so that ten days later there were only five hundred and twenty-one men of this force in the field.

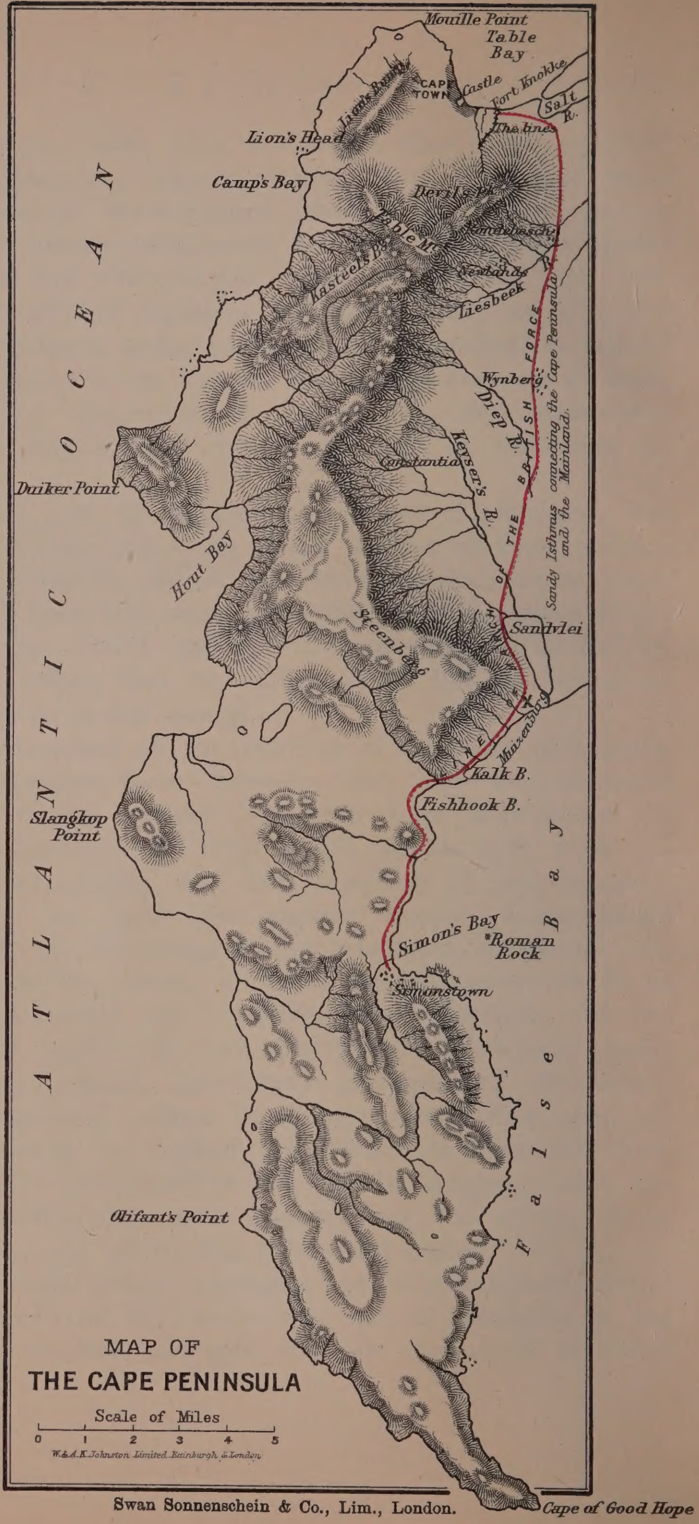
On the 9th of September Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig issued another address, inviting the inhabitants to submit to the protection of the overwhelming force that must otherwise take possession of the country by violent means. Commissioner Sluysken replied, as before, that his oath required him to defend the colony for its lawful owners.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th of September an English force, between four and five thousand strong, in two columns, marched from Muizenburg towards Capetown. As soon as the signals were made, all the burgher cavalry, with the exception of one company, were sent to assist the regular troops. Some joined the camp at Wynberg, others attempted to harass the columns on the march, in which they succeeded so far as to kill one sailor and wound seventeen soldiers. In this service a party of the Swellendam Nationals, under Daniel du Plessis, particularly distinguished themselves. They so won the respect of General Clarke that after the final surrender he invited Du Plessis to dine with him, and highly complimented the sturdy burgher. But the force to which they were opposed was too strong to be checked by any efforts that they could make.

Van Baalen—now promoted by Commissioner Sluysken to the rank of major,—who was in command of the camp at Wynberg, arranged to meet the shock of battle

Map IX.

The red line on this map shows the line of march of the English troops from Simonstown to Capetown in August and September 1795. The cross **X** denotes the position of the Dutch camp at Muizenburg, from which Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille withdrew on the approach of General Craig on the 7th of August.


Mouille Point
Table Bay
Fort Knokke
Salt R.
Castle
CAPE TOWN
Lion's Rump
Lion's Head
The lines
Camp's Bay
Devil's Pk.
Table Mt.
Rondebosch
Kasteels Bg.
Newlands
Liesbeek R.
Wynberg
Diep R.
Keyser's R.
Constantia
THE BRITISH FORCE
Sandy Isthmus connecting the Cape Peninsula and the Mainland.
Duiker Point
Hout Bay
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Steenberg
MARCH OF
Sandvlei
X
Muizenburg
Kalk B.
Fishhook B.
Slangkop Point
Simon's Bay
*Roman Rock
Simonstown
False Bay
Olifant's Point
MAP OF
THE CAPE PENINSULA
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5
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Cape of Good Hope

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by drawing up his forces in a faulty manner and placing his cannon in such a position that they were practically useless. Some artillery and burgher officers remonstrated, but to no purpose, for as soon as the English were within range, he retreated with the greater part of the national battalion. The burghers cried out that they were being betrayed and sold. It was a scene of confusion. One company of infantry and most of the artillerymen made a stand for a few minutes, and then fell back towards Capetown, abandoning the camp with everything in it. One burgher and one soldier were killed, and another soldier was wounded. The burgher cavalry, strongly impressed with the idea that Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon, as well as the officers of the national battalion, were traitors at heart, and considering that if they crossed the lines they would be in a trap and must become prisoners of war, dispersed and returned to their homes.

While this was taking place, a squadron of three British men-of-war and an Indiaman was threatening Capetown from the side of Table Bay, but did not come within gunshot.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 14th of September the council of policy met. All the members except Colonel Gordon were present. The position was as follows. A British army, over four thousand strong and in thorough discipline, was in bivouac at Newlands. The force which still nominally remained at the disposal of the government was composed of five hundred and forty-two men of the national battalion, four hundred and three artillerymen, fifty-seven men of the depôts of the regiments Meuron and Wurtemburg, seventy-one convalescent sailors, three hundred and fifty burgher infantry, ninety-five burgher cavalry, a corps of one hundred and twenty-five pennists, a corps of forty-two Malays, and a few seamen belonging to the ship *Castor* and brig *Star*, altogether about one thousand seven hundred and twenty men.

Nearly half of these had retreated during the day from the camp at Wynberg, and at dusk were reported to be at Drie Kopjes.* The remainder were distributed among the fortifications in Hout Bay, Camp's Bay, and Table Valley. Even supposing them all thoroughly loyal and determined to fight to the last, they could not have held their own for any length of time; but they were without a leader in whom they could have confidence, and a very large proportion of those who were disciplined were not disposed to meet the English in battle.

Under these circumstances further defence seemed impossible; but one member of the council—Mr. Van Reede van Oudtshoorn—still objected to voluntary surrender. He was commandant of the pennists. In that capacity he offered with his corps to be employed in the hottest part of a final battle, and declared that with his consent the colony would never be given up. The remaining members were unanimous that, to save the town from being taken by storm, they ought to capitulate on the best terms obtainable. With this view a messenger with a flag of truce was sent to the English bivouac at Newlands, with letters to the generals and admiral requesting a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange terms. At midnight General Clarke consented to an armistice for twenty-four hours.

In the morning of the 15th Messrs. J. J. le Sueur and W. S. van Ryneveld were sent with the conditions proposed by the council to confer with General Craig, who had come for that purpose to Rustenburg, the garden and country seat of the early Dutch governors at Rondebosch, then occupied by Mr. Gerhard Munnik. Some of the articles proposed were agreed to, others were modified, and only one was rejected. This one related to five deserters from the English forces who had joined the Dutch, and for whose safety a promise of pardon was desired. The rejection of this article caused some delay, as Commissioner Sluysken, on being referred to, declined to consent to the capitulation without it. General Craig then, while still refusing to have an article promising pardon inserted in the terms of surrender, gave his word that no notice would be taken of the deserters. The commissioner and council, late in the night of Tuesday the 15th of September 1795, agreed to the terms as modified by General Craig, and signed them. Early in the morning of the 16th the arrangements for the capitulation were completed by the document being signed by General Clarke and Admiral Elphinstone at Rustenburg. At eleven o'clock the council closed its last session by ordering the publication of the articles and official notification of what had occurred to be given to the heads of departments and officers in the country districts.

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* At the request of the inhabitants this name was changed to Mowbray by a government notice of the 17th of June 1850.

The terms provided for the surrender of the Dutch troops as prisoners of war, but the officers were to be at liberty either to remain in Capetown or to return to Europe, upon giving their word of honour not to serve against England during the continuance of hostilities. The colonists were to retain all their privileges, including the existing form of religion. No new taxes were to be levied, but, in consideration of the decay of the colony, the old imposts were to be reduced as much as possible. Everything belonging to the East India Company was to be handed over to the English officers, but all other property was to be respected. The lands and houses belonging to the East India Company were to be held in pledge for the redemption of that portion of the paper money which was not secured by mortgages on private property.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday the 16th of September 1795, twelve hundred British infantry and two hundred artillerymen under General Craig arrived at the castle and drew up on the open ground in front. The Dutch troops marched out with colours flying and drums beating, passed by the English, and laid down their arms, surrendering as prisoners of war. Some of them were in a state of great excitement, and were uttering imprecations upon Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon for having brought disgrace upon them. One soldier even went so far as to attempt to assault the colonel. It is asserted by Lieutenant Marnitz, in his relation of these events, that the only occasion after the arrival of the English on which the head of the military drew his sword was when he gave the order for the troops he had commanded to lay down their arms and become prisoners.

In the evening General Clarke arrived with two thousand infantry and a train of artillery. The naval brigades and marines were sent back to Simonstown from Newlands. Unfortunately for the good reputation of the British forces, against whom no charge of breach of discipline or interference with private property had yet been made, some of the marines and blue-jackets on their return march broke loose from control, and pillaged the farm-houses. One party visited Great Constantia, then, and for seventeen years previously, the property of Mr. Hendrik Cloete, who was noted for his hospitality to strangers of all nations. They destroyed a great deal of the furniture, broke open the cellar, and knocked in the heads of a number of kegs of wine. Their propensity to do mischief was only checked by the wine taking effect on them. This was the only kind of violence, however, perpetrated by any men in the British uniform, and even this was limited to a few farms.

Two homeward bound Dutch Indiamen—the *Vertrouwen* and the *Louisa Antonia*—had recently arrived in Simon's Bay, and the Company's ship *Castor* and the Cape packet *Star* were lying at anchor in Table Bay. The British admiral made prizes of them all. The old Cape packet *Meermin*, of which Skipper Gerrit Ewoud Overbeek had taken command upon the retirement of the chevalier Duminy, had been chartered by some colonists, and had left for Holland with a cargo of Cape produce before the arrival of the British expedition.

On the 18th an American vessel from Bordeaux reached Table Bay, bringing intelligence that a close treaty of alliance between the republics of France and the Netherlands, in which war with Great Britain was one of the specified objects, had been concluded in the preceding month of May, so that the conquest of the colony by the English was in every respect justifiable, which would not have been the case had Holland remained at peace with Great Britain after the overthrow of the stadtholder's government.

Dutch writers, when relating the surrender of the colony, have usually charged Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon with imbecility or with downright treason. The secret debates and resolutions of the council and the correspondence of the commissioner are now open for public inspection, and as far as language goes they disprove the charge of treason. But the language and the acts of these high officials did not correspond. There was only one way in which a real earnest defence of the colony could have been made, and that was by co-operating heart and soul with the democratic party, which neither the commissioner nor the colonel had any inclination to do. No opposition surely was ever so strong in words, so weak in deeds, as that which ended in the capitulation of the Cape Colony to the English troops. Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon had constantly before their minds another, and to them a more distasteful capitulation: the surrender of the settlement to the National party. By prolonging a nominal defence they could gain time, and something might happen in Europe to put another complexion on affairs. This is the only reasonable explanation of their conduct.

Mr. Sluysken left for Europe on the 12th of November in the cartel ship *Loyalist*, after the transfer of the effects of the East India Company was completed. He was accompanied by the military officers Von Hugel, Kunz, Le Sueur, Cloete, Wynrich, and Walburg, his private secretary Mr. Faay, Dr. Van Rees, four servants, and two hundred and ten soldiers of the artillery corps. The *Loyalist* touched at St. Helena on the passage. Off the English coast she encountered a gale, in which she sprang a leak and damaged her rudder, but on the 16th of February 1796 she reached Portsmouth without further disaster. There the soldiers were confined until they could be exchanged for English prisoners, and on the 1st of April Mr. Sluysken and the officers, with their servants, were placed on board the cutter *Goodwood*, which sailed on the 14th and reached Hellevoetsluys on the 16th of the same month.

Three days later—19th of April 1796—the commissioner-general appeared before the National Assembly at the Hague and asked for an investigation into his conduct, at the same time delivering a written statement of the occurrences which ended with the surrender of the colony to the English. He made out that for three months and a half he had defended the Cape against a force of five thousand five hundred soldiers and twenty-three ships of war, and that to the misconduct and lack of courage of the burghers his ultimate failure was chiefly due. The matter was referred by the National Assembly to a committee termed the Commission for Foreign Affairs, to make the necessary investigation and to prepare a report.

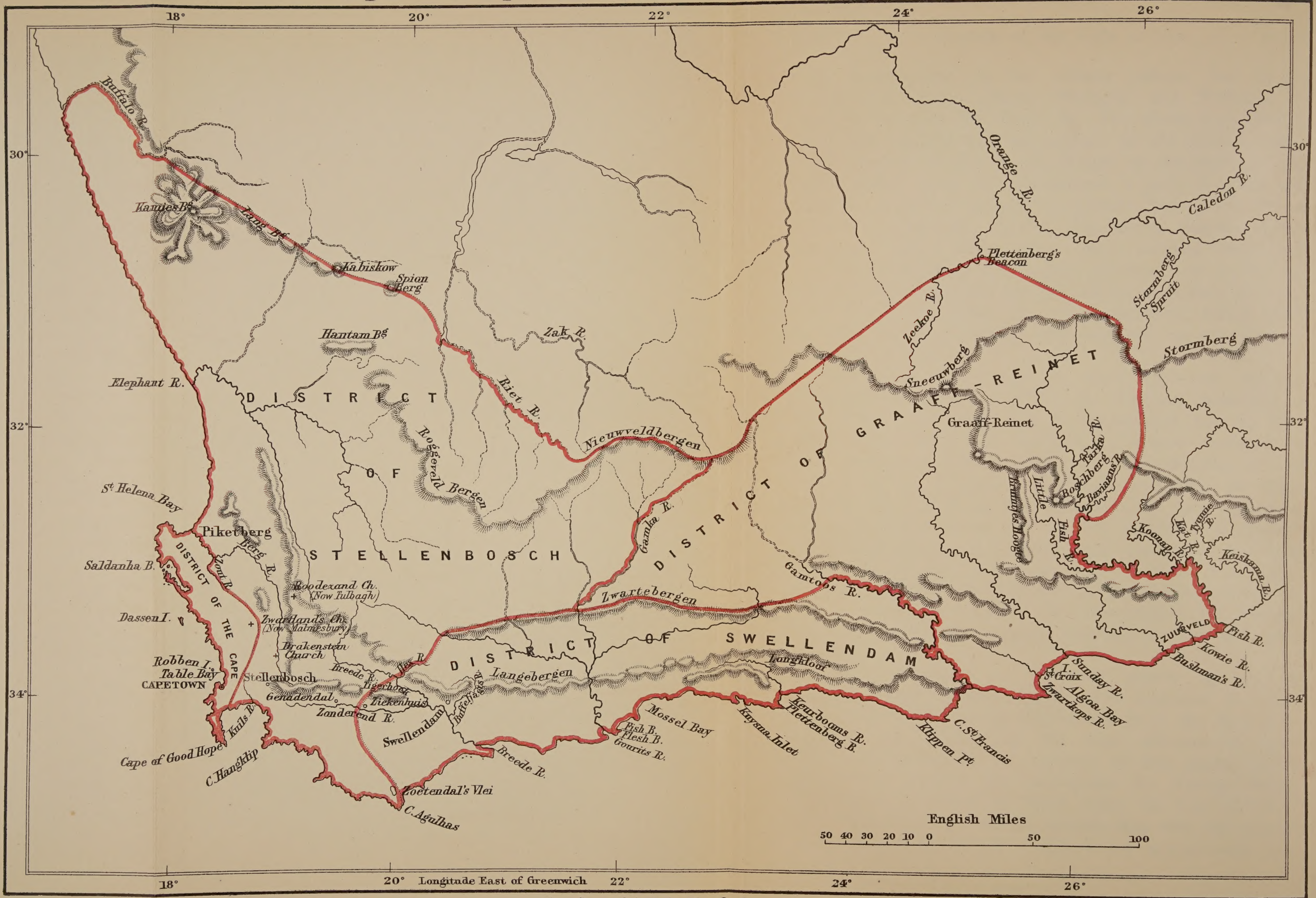
Shortly afterwards a document drawn up by an engineer officer named Thibault, who remained in Capetown, was received at the Hague, and in it Mr. Sluysken's conduct was exhibited in the most unfavourable light. The consideration of the contents of this paper caused some delay, so that the Commission for Foreign Affairs was unable to deliver its report before the 21st of October. The members were of opinion that with the slender means of defence at his command the commissioner-gen-

Map X. This map shows the extent of the settlement in the year 1795.

The places where there were courts of law were
Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
Stellenbosch, village founded in December 1679,
Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October 1786.

The churches were at

Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1665, Stellenbosch, established in January 1687, Drakenstein, established in December 1691, Roodezand (now Tulbagh), established in October 1743, Zwartland (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745, Graaff-Reinet, established in October 1792.
Lutheran	Capetown, established in December 1780.
Moravian mission	Genadendal, established in December 1792.



18°
20°
22°
24°
26°
30°
32°
34°
Buffalo R.
Kamies Bg.
Kabiskow
Spion Berg
Hantam Bg.
Zak R.
Orange R.
Caledon R.
Plettenberg's Beacon
Stormberg Spruit
Stormberg
Zeekoe R.
Sneeuwberg
Riet R.
Elephant R.
DISTRICT OF STELLENBOSCH
Roggeveld Bergen
Nieuwveldbergen
DISTRICT OF GRAAFF-REINET
Graaff-Reinet
Gamka R.
St. Helena Bay
Piketberg
Berg R.
Zout R.
DISTRICT OF THE CAPE
Saldanha B.
Roodezand Ch. (Now Tulbagh)
Zwartlands Ch. (Now Malmesbury)
Dassen I.
Drakenstein Church
Robben I.
Table Bay
CAPETOWN
Stellenbosch
Genadendal
Breede R.
Zonderend R.
Ziekenhuis
Swellendam
Buffeljagt R.
Langebergen
DISTRICT OF SWELLENDAM
Zwartebergen
Gamtoos R.
Langkloof
Little Fish R.
Boschberg
Baviaans R.
Koonap R.
Kat R.
Keiskama R.
ZUURVELD
Fish R.
Kowie R.
Bushman's R.
Sunday R.
St. Croix I.
Algoa Bay
Zwartkops R.
C. St. Francis
Klippen Pt.
Keurbooms R.
Plettenberg B.
Knysna Inlet
Mossel Bay
Fish B.
Flesh B.
Gourits R.
Breede R.
Zoetendal's Vlei
C. Agulhas
C. Hangklip
Cape of Good Hope
Kuils R.
English Miles
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100
Longitude East of Greenwich

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eral had done all that was possible against the overwhelming force opposed to him, and they made a strong point of his holding out so long in order that the advantage of compulsory capitulation, rather than submission without a struggle, should not be lost when terms of peace came to be considered.

In consequence of this report, on the 2nd of December 1796 the National Assembly decreed that Mr. Sluysken had performed his duty correctly and that he deserved well of the fatherland.

Of the members of the council of policy at the Cape, the secunde, the fiscal, and the resident at Simonstown had no scruple in at once accepting office under the British authorities. Three hundred and ninety-one men—mostly Germans—of the national battalion were induced by a bounty of five guineas to take service with the English. Thirty of them were sent to St. Helena, and the others to Madras and Bengal. Colonel Gordon was intensely disappointed on finding that the government was to be carried on in the name of the king of Great Britain and Ireland, without referring to the prince of Orange in any way in public documents. He died by his own hand during the night of the 5th of October, unable, his enemies declared, to bear the censure of his own conscience and the reproaches with which he was continually assailed.

CHAPTER LVI.

CONDITION OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE CAPE COLONY AT THE TIME OF THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

THE vast extent of territory between the Fish river on the east, the Atlantic ocean on the west, the great plain bordering the Orange river on the north, and the Indian ocean on the south, under the dominion of Europeans at the time of the fall of the Dutch East India Company, was very unequally occupied. The Karoo, which forms such a large proportion of it, was not then permanently inhabited, except in a few isolated localities where there was a constant supply of water. Graziers roamed over it with their flocks and herds in the rainy season, but as soon as the flowers and plants began to disappear with the heat of the sun they moved away to pastures of grass north, south, and east. They had not yet learned that sheep could thrive all the year through on the withered and stunted bushes, which strike their roots so deep that they contain a little moisture even after the longest drought. Boring for water, which is now proving successful in many localities, had not then been thought of, nor had artificial reservoirs to conserve the rainfall of the winter and thunderstorms been constructed in any number. Land was so easily obtained that no one thought it worth while to attempt to improve it, if a tract did not supply whatever was needed it was abandoned and another and better locality was sought. The majority of the European inhabitants were resident within a hundred and twelve kilometres of Capetown; beyond an arc with that radius only the choicest parts of the country were occupied as cattle runs, none of which were less than twenty-three square kilometres in size, while most of them were very much larger.

A considerable number of the men whose names appeared in the census returns were not colonists by birth, for at no period since the formation of the settlement had so many strangers yearly made their homes in South Africa as during the two decades after 1775. A list of the principal individuals among them will show this, and will complete the roll of prominent colonists before the close of the eighteenth century.

Nicolaas Acker, before 1787,
Michiel Joseph Adendorff, before 1787,
Jan Daniel Alders, before 1793,
Robert Nicolaas Aling, 1784,
Hendrik van As, before 1792,
Anthonie Asseron, before 1788,
Andreas Willem Beck, before 1779,
Georg Hendrik Behr, before 1788,
Jacobus Johannes van den Berg, before 1776,
Jonas van Bergen, before 1777,
Carel Christiaan Bernhardi, 1785,
Marthinus Beyleveld, before 1782,
Johan Blatt, before 1786,
Zacharias Blomerus, before 1782,
Caspar Bodenstein, before 1793,
Jan Bonthuys, 1776,
Meent Borcherds, 1785,
Hermanus Brinkman, before 1783,
Gerrit Broekhuyzen, before 1782,
Johan Ernst Broens, before 1788,
David Johan Valentyn Buchner, before 1795,
Christiaan van den Burgh, before 1791,
Anthonie Burnet, before 1795,
Gerrit van Coppenhagen, before 1795,
Sybrand Cornelissen, before 1778,
Siebert Dormehl, before 1792,
Johan Michiel Dorphling, before 1783,
Roelof van Driel, before 1784
François Duminy, before 1777,
Evert van Dyk, before 1792,
Carsten Hendrik Dykman, before 1795,
Johan Matthys Ebersohn, before 1789,
Hendrik Ekermans, before 1795,
Gustaaf Erlank, before 1791,
Andries Erwee, before 1795,
Jan Hendrik Esbach, before 1782,
Johan Georg Everhard, before 1795,
Johan Heinrich Exter, before 1789,
Coenraad Frederik Eygelaar, before 1795,
Johan Hendrik Eyman, before 1776,
Georg Ernest Faustman, before 1781,
Jan Frylinck, before 1795,
Willem Garrits, before 1792,
Lodewyk Frederik Gebhardt, before 1795,
Justinus van Gennep, 1781,
George Frederik Goets, before 1786,

Kassien Claasen Dekenah, before 1794,
Johan Daniel Disandt, before 1790,
Johan Christiaan Disandt, before 1795,
Nicolaas Jacob Doman, before 1788,
Willem Ludolph van Hardenberg, before 1787,
Jan Carel de la Harpe, before 1786,
Ferdinand Hartzenberg, before 1777,
Pieter Heintjes, before 1780,
Johan Andries Heise, before 1778,
Johan Willem Herold, before 1779,
Johan Daniel Hesse, before 1795,
Johan Heyne, before 1793,
Joseph Heyns, before 1782,
Frans Hillegers, before 1785,
Hendrik Hitzeroth, before 1795,
Jan Hoets, before 1777,
Jan van der Hoeven, before 1795,
Christiaan Godlob Höhne, before 1790,
Leveen Godlieb Hubert, before 1795,
Hendrik Jankowitz, before 1787,
Andries Jansen, before 1782,
Johan Godlieb Joon, before 1778,
Georg Pieter Kellerman, before 1792,
Christiaan Kemper, before 1785,
Anthonie Keyter, before 1792,
Johan Engelhard Kirchhoff, before 1777,
Willem Jan Klerk, before 1793,
Theunis Kleyn, before 1792,
Gerrit Klyn, before 1792,
Johan Knoes, before 1779,
Johan Jacobus Graaff, before 1779,
Coenraad Adolph Greeve, before 1795,
Edzard Adolph Grimbeek, before 1787,
Michiel Haan, before 1780,
Leendert Haasbroek, before 1786,
Adriaan van Hall, before 1791,
Georg Coenraad Kuchler, before 1786,
Johan Christiaan Frederik Kunze, before 1778,
Johannes Abraham Kuys, 1777,
Philip Kuys, 1777,
Jacobus Lacock, before 1783,
Jan Hendrik Lange, before 1779,
Georg Frederik Langejaan, before 1776,
Frederik Langerman, before 1785,
François de Lettre, before 1784,
Johan Lourens Liebentrau, before 1795,
Frederik Lodewyk Liesching, before 1795,
Johan Gebhard Lindenberg, before 1795,
Johan Georg Lingevelder, before 1778,
Johan Hendrik Loock, before 1777,
Jan Luyten, before 1782,
Johan Godlieb Mader, before 1788,
Philip Wilhelm Marnitz, before 1789,
Johan Mechau, before 1795,
Johan Frederik Meeding, before 1781,
Coenraad Mentzler, before 1788,
Carel Hendrik Meyer, before 1782,

Diederik Andreas Kohler, before 1794,
Gilles de Korte, 1781,
Johan Philip Krafft, before 1793,
Johan Andries Kritzinger, before 1787,
Johannes Christoffel Krog, before 1794,
Jan Nefdt, before 1791,
Christoffel Hendrik Niehaus, 1777,
Johan Christiaan Nielen, before 1792,
Ludolph Niepoth, before 1795,
Manuel Joam d'Oliveira, before 1795,
Gerhard Olthoff, before 1792,
Deetlef Christiaan Olwagen, before 1795,
Willem Johan van Oosterzee, before 1789,
Gerhard Ewoud Overbeek, 1795,
Diederik Pallas, before 1795,
Carel Frederik Paret, before 1779,
Louis Almoro Pisani, before 1789,
Johan David Piton, before 1783,
Carel Frederik Pohl, before 1795,
Petrus Jacobus Rademan, 1777,
Johan Christoffel Rautenbach, before 1791,
Johan Reeder, before 1777,
Jan Jurgen Regter, before 1782,
Jan Frederik Reitz, before 1795,
Johan Renke, before 1794,
Pieter de la Rey, before 1795,
Dirk van Rhyn, before 1792,
Johan Hendrik Richter, before 1795,
Philip Daniel Ricker, before 1778,
Johan Hendrik Roselt, before 1788,
Pierre de Roubaix, before 1795,
Samuel Russau, before 1781,
Frans Meyer, before 1785,
Hermanus Johannes de Milander, before 1777,
Cornelis Mol, before 1782,
Hendrik Lodewyk Momberg, before 1779,
Andries Momsen, before 1786,
Johan Georg Muller, before 1784,
Augustus Tiberius Neeser, before 1795,
Andries Scheuble, before 1792,
Joseph Daniel Schmidt, before 1795,
Jean Baptiste Schultz, before 1792,
Herman Schutte, before 1795,
Frederik Sevenster, before 1780,
Pieter Siemsen, before 1776,
Frederik Sievert, before 1784,
Willem Slier, before 1780,
Jacobus Marinus Smidt, before 1795,
Abraham de Smidt, 1781,
Carel Lodewyk Smit, before 1782,
Frans Jurgen Sommer, before 1786,
Johan Spammer, before 1789,
Frederik Wilhelm Spengler, before 1789,
Andries Spolander, before 1795,
Remmert Spruyt, before 1790,
Hermanus Staal, before 1791,
Jan Pieter Stagman, before 1791,
Johan Nicolaas Stassen, before 1788,
Johan Godlieb Stegmann, before 1786,
Jan Frederik Stemmet, before 1785,
Johan Daniel Stephan, before 1785,
Johan Steyl, before 1779,
Johan Salomon Stigling, before 1778,

Jan Hendrik Rust, 1775,
Hendrik Rutgers, before 1790,
Jacobus Ruytinga, before 1795,
Johan Hendrik Rynhard, before 1783,
Johan Sandberg, before 1777,
Tieleman Johannes van de Sande, before 1793,
Barend van de Sande, before 1795,
Jan Jacob Swanevelder, before 1781,
Guillam de Swart, before 1794,
Jacob Swarts, before 1779,
Johan George Swarts, before 1782,
Jan Godlieb Theunissen, before 1794,
Louis Michiel Thibault, before 1786,
Johan Jacobus Thys, before 1795,
Arie Lourens Toerien, before 1785,
Pieter Traut, before 1795,
Jacques Gideon Tredoux, before 1789,
Jan Tromp, before 1783,
Christiaan Troskie, before 1792,
Samuel Frederik Ungerer, before 1795,
Cornelis Valckenburg, before 1791,
Jacobus Vercueil, before 1785,
Marinus Vervoort, before 1795,
Johan Viegenheym, before 1781,
Adriaan de Vogel, before 1786,
Johan Christiaan Vogelgezang, before 1793,
Jan Arnoud Voltelen, before 1787,
Jan Baptist de Vos, before 1787,
Johan Erhard Wagener, before 1783,
Andries Stockenstrom, 1782,
Hendrik Stoeder, before 1791,
Jacobus Stofberg, before 1783,
Johan Michiel Stohrer, before 1790,
Frederik Wilhelm Storck, before 1777,
Hendrik Storm, before 1795,
Simon Frederik Streicher, before 1795,
Johan Georg Wasserman, before 1776,
Godfried Andries Watermeyer, before 1794,
Johan Valentyn Weeber, before 1794,
Jan Wege, before 1792,
Godlieb Wilhelm Wehmeyer, before 1791,
Johan Godlieb Welgemoed, before 1795,
Johan Frederik Wiesner, before 1779,
Johan George Wismer, before 1781,
Pieter Woudberg, before 1777,
Johan Christiaan Wrensch, before 1793,
Carel Philip Zastron, before 1788,
Roelof Abraham Zeederberg, before 1795,
Willem Hendrik Zeele, before 1780,
Jan Frederik Zeyler, before 1794,
Hendrik Ziberg, before 1781,
Jan Jacob Ziegler, before 1779,
Carel Ewald Ziervogel, before 1780,
Paul Lodewyk Zietsman, before 1781,
Johan Wilhelm Zulch, before 1780.

In official documents of all kinds in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a custom of writing after a man's name the place of his birth, but in this country it was not invariably followed. In the church registers of the Cape Colony the names of fifteen hundred and twenty-six men are found who either brought their wives here with them, or caused their families to follow them from Holland, or who married here and had children. These men were the ancestors of nearly all of the present Dutch speaking Europeans in South Africa, for immigration during the nineteenth century did not add very largely to the number. The birthplaces of thirteen hundred and ninety-one of them are given in documents in our archives, and those of one hundred and twenty-nine of the others have been found by Dr. H. T. Colenbrander after long and careful search in the records of the Dutch East India Company at the Hague. Of the whole body of permanent colonists before the British conquest, the nationality of only six male settlers is thus unknown, and among these six there is not a name borne by a large or prominent family at the present day.

Eight hundred and six of them were Germans, that is, they came from places now included in the German empire,* four hundred and ninety-four were Netherlanders, seventy-four were Frenchmen, thirty-four were Swiss, thirty-three were Danes, twenty-eight were Swedes, twenty-three were Belgians, ten were Norwegians, eight were Russians, three were Englishmen, two were Portuguese, two were Austrians, one was a Pole, one an Italian, and one a Hungarian. These figures do not give a correct impression, however, unless they are carefully analysed, and some peculiar circumstances are considered in connection with them. There was really as much French as German blood in the veins of the Cape colonists in 1795, and nearly, if not quite, seven-twelfths of the whole was Dutch. When arranged in periods of twenty-five years, it is seen that most of the Germans were late arrivals, while nearly all of the French came at an early date.

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* A large proportion of these, however, were from the border land, and were really of Nether Teuton blood, as well as of the Calvinistic faith, though by birth they were not Dutch subjects.

	1657 to 1675.	1675 to 1700.	1700 to 1725.	1725 to 1750.	1750 to 1775.	1775 to 1795.
Germans	7	38	102	180	267	212
Netherlanders	34	57	122	78	88	115
Frenchmen	1	51	11	1	2	8
Swiss		1	7	2	9	15
Danes	1	1	4	2	14	10
Swedes	3	1	3	3	6	13
Belgians	1	1	6	1	5	9
Norwegians			3	3	1	3
Russians		1		1	4	2
Englishmen			1	1		1
Portuguese			1			1
Austrians				1	1	
Pole						1
Italian						1
Hungarian						1
Unknown	2	1	1		2	
	49	152	261	273	399	392

Dr. Colenbrander found also the birthplaces of the women who either accompanied their husbands to South

	1657 to 1675.	1675 to 1700.	1700 to 1725.	1725 to 1750.	1750 to 1775.	1775 to 1795.
German women . . .	2	2	6	7	18	13
Dutch ,, ...	45	63	101	47	47	19
French ,, ...		57	8	3	3	1
Flemish ,, ...	1	1	2			
Swedish ,, ...			1		1	
English ,, ...		1				
	48	124	118	57	69	33

Africa or came out single and married here, which are recorded much more fully in documents at the Hague than in the Cape archives. Classified in the same manner as the men, a great preponderance of Dutch blood is shown.

These lists show that the German element was not large before the Dutch and the French expanded. Another fact which bears strongly on this matter is that the French were much more prolific than the Germans. They came to South Africa in early life, and had never given way to dissipation in any form. Among the Germans were beyond doubt many men of unblemished character, but in general they belonged to the roving class, and did not marry and settle down until the highest vigour of life was gone.

A careful scrutiny of the lists of names and of the size of the families of each shows further that in all probability climatic causes tended to favour the French. The proportion of blood in 1795 was probably about seven-twelfths Dutch, one-sixth French, one-sixth German, and one-twelfth distributed among other nationalities.

This mixture of blood had helped to wean the colonists from attachment to the parent state, but in that respect the condition in which they lived had done much more. There was not a single post office in the country, and the only way of forwarding a letter from Swellendam or Graaff-Reinet to Europe was to send it by some traveller to Capetown and trust to its being taken on by an obliging skipper. Practically therefore an individual living beyond the Cape peninsula was cut off from communication with distant lands, and his children, knowing nothing of relatives abroad, did not concern themselves with the home of their ancestors. To this must be added the fact that many of them could not have written a letter if there had been a post with which to send it away. Thus all their attachment and all their interests were centred in South Africa, and though no one had any deep love for a particular locality, every one of them had a strong affection for the country as a whole. They called themselves Afrikanders, a term in common use at least as early as 1735. When they spoke then of loyalty to the Netherlands and to the states-general, it was simply because they regarded that as their duty, not because they had a strong personal feeling in the matter.

Of the constitution of the Netherlands, of the geographical features of that country, of its size, or of its position relative to other states, the graziers of the interior really knew nothing more than what they learned in conversation from discharged servants of the Company who went to live among them. From these men they obtained wild ideas of liberty, which caused them to profess attachment to the patriot as against the stadtholder's faction, but hardly any among them could correctly explain the difference between the two. In the interior of the Cape Colony there were no schools, nor had there ever been any, in which history and geography were taught. Even when the border of the settlement was at Rondebosch, it was hardly possible to provide children with anything like a liberal education, and the difficulty was enormously increased when families became scattered over the land beyond the Cape peninsula.

To become members of the church it was necessary that young people should be able to pass a very easy examination in ability to read the bible and the metrical psalm book, both of which were still in general printed in the old black letter, but few except the residents in the villages ever got beyond this stage of study. The teachers, or meesters as they were termed, were discharged soldiers engaged for a short term by each farmer with a family, and seldom men whose characters commanded much respect.

The language used in daily life differed considerably from that of Amsterdam at the close of the eighteenth century. From a common point—the dialect spoken by the mass of the people of North Holland a hundred and fifty years earlier,—there had been divergence on different lines. In Europe education and the diffusion of literature had caused people generally to speak more grammatically, and had fixed the language in a comparatively solid mould. Even yet, however, in some localities the peasantry use expressions which are survivals from a time when schools were attended chiefly by the children of the rich, and nowhere is the ordinary language of conversation identical with that of books. In South Africa the incorporation of a large body of foreigners, the scanty instruction received in book learning, and, above all, the necessity of the country people speaking to slaves and Hottentots in the simplest manner possible, consistent with clearness of meaning, had resulted in great destruction of grammatical forms.

The article and the adjective lost their inflections as thoroughly as in English, and stood in the same form before nouns of all genders, cases, and numbers. Even the pronouns lost some of their inflections. The verb had no longer any changes to mark the persons and numbers, and its tense forms were somewhat reduced. All this took place without the slightest diminution in power of expressing ideas. There is no advantage in a declinable article and adjective, or in a verb that changes its form according to the pronoun that is connected with it. To the educated eye and ear of a European I was, thou was, he was, we was, you was, they was, may be offensive, but the full force of the expression in each case remains. So aan de man, de vrouw, en de kind is equally as definite as aan den man, de vrouw, en het kind. The use of a double negative, still occasionally employed in parts of the Netherlands, had become common, but that added emphasis to a sentence. Many words were shortened by dropping the final letter or syllable, yet the full meaning remained. Thus far then the progress of the language in a line towards extreme simplicity had not in any way weakened its force.

People, however, living as did the South African colonists of the interior, have only a small range of subjects to think about, and words signifying ideas beyond that range have a tendency to become partly or wholly obsolete, though it does not follow that the meaning of many of them will not even then be apparent to those who hear them in conversation or from books. If a vocabulary had been formed of all the words commonly used by a grazier of Swellendam or Graaff-Reinet in his intercourse with others, it would have been wonderfully small. But if those which he used in his devotions were included, the vocabulary would have been a copious one, for in it would have appeared most of the words found in the Dutch bible. This was the only book that he read, but every day he spelt out one of its chapters, and he knew the meaning of the sentences so well that when he addressed his God in prayer he used them always. The language of the bible, if not more expressive than that which he employed in addressing his family and his servants, was regarded by him as more dignified, and consequently more worthy of being used in divine worship. He was an ultra-Protestant, but in this respect he was imitating those of another creed who use one form of speech for ordinary purposes and a more complicated language in devotional exercises. Even with this knowledge of grammatical Dutch, however, most of the uneducated South African colonists were unable to understand fully a commercial newspaper printed in Holland or a book upon an unfamiliar subject, just as a Catholic peasant who knows the meaning and realises the grandeur of his Latin prayers may yet be unable to comprehend a page of the Æneid. Those who resided in and near Capetown, however, must be excepted from these remarks, because they were in contact with the officers of government and strangers.

The South African dialect had not incorporated many words from foreign languages. The Malays, among whom excellent cooks were to be found, gave it a few names of viands unknown in the Netherlands, such as atjang, blatjang, bredi, and sassati. From the corrupt Portuguese which in the seventeenth century was the common medium of intercourse between Europeans of all nationalities and native traders in the eastern seas, and which was also spoken by many of the slaves in South Africa, a few words, such as tronk instead of gevangenis, dispens instead of provisiekamer,—not more than ten or twelve in all—were taken over. From the Hottentots three or four words, such as karoo, kaross, and kerie, were acquired, though these are only approximate imitations of the sounds as uttered by the rude people. The French immigrants modified the character of the colonists to a considerable extent, but with the single exception of the word bien, corrupted into baije, added nothing to the language. A few sea terms, such as kombuis and kooi, instead of keuken and bed, were generally used.

Another cause of difference between the language of the Netherlands and that of South Africa was climatic. In the dry air of the southern land the vocal organs gave clearer sounds, gruffness was lost, and the accent was changed. The distinction was like that in music between bass and tenor.

With all this, education alone was needed to make the colonists familiar with the rich and varied literature of the fatherland. No Africander child ever had greater difficulty in learning to read and understand correct Dutch than the child of an English farm labourer would have in learning to comprehend the language of Bishop Butler or of Darwin. It was not in any sense a foreign language to him, such as English or Italian would be.

The dialect of Dutch, thus formed, had a strong hold upon the affections of the people. It was the tongue that their mothers taught them to speak, its were the words used in courtship by young men and maidens, and its accents were the last heard from relatives and friends they would see no more. A simple, expressive, easily learned dialect, the strangers who came to live among them readily adopted and helped to perpetuate it.

Nowhere else perhaps were women more on an equality with men in all respects than in South Africa. From the most remote times of which anything is known with certainty the females of the Nether Teuton race have enjoyed extensive rights and privileges, and in this country there were special circumstances which tended to increase those rights. The number of men was always greatly in excess of that of women, so that more consideration was shown towards the weaker sex than in countries—such as the fatherland—in which the reverse was the case. Then the women had, and have still, legal rights which those in England do not enjoy.

There were two methods of regulating property as between husband and wife. The first was by an antenuptial contract, or agreement properly drawn up by a notary, signed, and witnessed before the marriage took place, in which separate estates were created, and each had full legal control through life of his or her own. Whatever belonged to a woman while she was single, or whatever she acquired or inherited thereafter, was thus secured to her in perpetuity, and without her consent her husband could not squander it. It was not even subject to seizure for debts contracted by him, but was as absolutely hers as if no marriage existed.

Antenuptial contracts between spouses were, however, rare in the country districts, though not so uncommon in Capetown. They were favoured by persons engaged in trade and in speculation of any kind, but were not needed by farmers and graziers. When these people married, as in every case where no antenuptial contract was made, a community of property was the effect. Half of what had previously belonged to both, and of all that was thereafter acquired, was the husband's, and half the wife's. The regulation of the joint estate was entrusted by the law to the man alone, but custom required that in every transaction of importance he should consult the woman. Neither could make a will affecting the other's half share of the property. At the death of either all debts were paid, and the estate was then divided equally between the survivor and the heirs of the deceased.

There were cases in which this law worked harshly, as, for instance, in the occasional necessity of winding up a flourishing business upon the death of a wife, and its operation tended to disperse the colonists, but it gave to women the protection which was justly their due.

In connection with this matter the law of inheritance must also be described. This was based upon the principle that parents have no right to leave their children unprovided for, and that all children, irrespective of sex or order of birth, have equal claims for maintenance. An individual having five or more children could only dispose by will of half of his or her property, the remainder belonged to the children, and upon the death of the parent was equally divided among them if they were of age, or taken in charge by the orphan chamber for them if they were minors. If no will was made the whole of the property was dealt with in the same manner. A parent with children not exceeding four in number could dispose of two-thirds of his or her property by will in any manner he or she chose.

This, excluding a few exceptions which seldom or never came into operation, was the law of the colony. It left a parent freedom to provide liberally for an infirm child, or a dependent, or a charity, because he or she could bequeath by will for any specified purpose one-half or two-thirds of his or her property, according to the number of his or her children, but it took away from all the power of completely disinheriting any particular child. The usual custom in the country districts was for the husband and wife to make a joint will, by the terms of which the survivor of the two and the children of the marriage were to divide equally among them the property of the first who should die.

In practice it came to this. A grazier on a leasehold farm or his wife died, leaving say six children. If the children, or any of them, were of age and no will had been made, half the horned cattle, horses, sheep, and goats were at once divided among them, so that each one should receive one-twelfth of the whole, and the surviving spouse, whether man or woman, would retain the other half. If the ordinary will had been made, each child would receive one-fourteenth, and the surviving spouse would retain eight-fourteenths of the whole. And if the deceased had bequeathed all that was in his or her power to alienate to some individual out of the family, that individual would receive one-fourth, each child would receive one-twenty-fourth, and the surviving spouse would retain one-half. In addition to live stock there would be in the estate a house with some furniture, a waggon or two, a couple of firelocks, and various other articles that could not be divided. All these things would be sold by public auction, and the proceeds be distributed in the same proportion. The house and all outbuildings and improvements on the farm were termed the opstal, and were saleable like other property, the lease of the ground being continued by the government to the purchaser of the opstal.

But it might be that the six children were minors. In that case an inventory of everything would be made, and the surviving spouse would be left in full possession on giving security to the orphan chamber that each child's portion would be paid on that child's attaining full age or marrying, otherwise the orphan chamber would cause the children's portions to be sold at once and invest the proceeds on interest for their benefit. If by will anything was alienated to strangers, which was seldom the case except to adopted children or godchildren, it would be paid out as soon as possible after the inventory was made and the value of the estate was ascertained.

In most cases on the death of either husband or wife a farm changed hands. Of course one of the heirs could purchase the opstal, but any one else could bid for it on equal terms. Thus there was a continual movement of people in those parts of the colony where the land was not held in freehold, and that movement naturally took the form of expansion of the settlement. The government did not favour the successive enlargements of the borders, and on various occasions issued placaats requiring the most advanced stragglers to return within the proclaimed boundaries, but all to no effect. As early as 1724 a law was made prohibiting any one from moving out of the district in which he was domiciled without the express permission of either the governor or the landdrost and heemraden, and requiring him even with such permission to pay £10 8*s.* 4*d.* into the treasury of the district he was leaving. But it was found impossible to enforce such an enactment, and, on the principle that an inoperative law is a dangerous law, in February 1727 it was repealed. The colonists moved on, and the government followed them.

The law of inheritance had a different effect in the neighbourhood of the Cape peninsula, where the land was held in freehold. There the farms were usually divided among the heirs, and though the portions of some—especially of the females—were commonly purchased by the others, the tendency was to reduce the holdings to so small a size that a family could with difficulty maintain an existence upon one of them. This result, however, was not fully reached in many instances during the eighteenth century, as in general the surplus population migrated willingly to the frontier.

Many objections might be raised to a law of inheritance like this, which prevented estates, unless entailed, from remaining long in one family, and which had a tendency to create a large body of very poor people; but it certainly was in accordance with the inclinations of the colonists. As long also as land was easily obtainable, and even in the best positions did not command a high price, its disadvantages did not come into prominence.

The pursuits of the people outside of Capetown were almost entirely agricultural or pastoral. There was no mining industry of any kind whatever, for not a single mineral of value had yet been discovered in any place where it could be utilised except salt. This was found in depressions of the surface in various parts of the country. In the rainy seasons the pans, as the depressions were called, were filled with water, and when the moisture was evaporated by the sun a quantity of pure fine salt varying in depth from the thickness of a wafer to several centimetres remained on the ground. It only needed to be collected and taken away, a process which did not require skill, and no one was exclusively employed in the industry. Sometimes a man would load a few waggons with salt at the pans close by Algoa Bay, and travel about among the graziers exchanging it for sheep, but in general each one went occasionally and collected as much as was required by his own family and a few friends.

There was abundance of fish of various kinds and of excellent quality in the seas that washed the long coast line west and south, but except in Table Bay and in the winter season in False Bay, the food supplies of the ocean—which contributed so largely to the wealth of the Dutch in Europe—were left practically unused by man. The East India Company did not wish to have people at other harbours who would require protection, and so fishing was prohibited elsewhere. After 1718 indeed it was permitted in Saldanha Bay, but on condition that one-fifth of all that was dried should be paid as a tax, so that no one cared to make use of the license. Now and then a family might go to the seaside for change of air for a few days, and while encamped on the shore would catch a few fish, but beyond that no attempt was made to secure this wealth except at the Cape peninsula. In

Table Bay a great quantity of fish was taken, chiefly by the free Malays, and was sold at a very low rate. The slaves within eighty kilometres of Capetown were largely fed upon this diet, which was used also almost daily by the European inhabitants, and sometimes a trader would take into the interior a waggon load of dried or smoked snoek—a species of barracouta or pike,—which he would exchange for sheep at an enormous profit. At Simonstown during the winter season a few fishermen congregated, but as there was no market at that place at other times of the year, they usually removed to Capetown before the end of August.

The only important manufacturing industry in the colony was that of waggons and carts. It is not too much to say that without the South African ox-waggon—a vehicle which combines the greatest strength with the greatest flexibility—the expansion of the settlement beyond the first range of mountains would have been almost impossible. The wood of which the waggons were made was indigenous, and was tougher and harder than the strongest oak. It was carefully seasoned, so that it did not shrink in dry weather. The various parts of the waggon were thickly plated with iron, but in such a manner that when put together the vehicle might almost be termed elastic, so great was its capability of adapting itself to different positions. It was indispensable to a farmer. Covered with a tent four and a half to six metres long and a metre to a metre and a quarter wide, he and his family could live in it, with or without the tent he could transport his effects over a country where bridges and roads were unknown.

Nearly every family made soap and candles for its own use. In the manufacture of the first the ashes of a common shrub were used with animal fat, and for the last either pure tallow, or tallow hardened with a vegetable wax obtainable in many parts of the country. Thrifty housewives often kept themselves supplied with little articles of domestic use by sending blocks of coarse soap of their own making or dipped tallow candles to Capetown for sale. If to these are added common household furniture such as tables and chests, coarse leather, which was tanned by many farmers for their own use, harness for horses, gear for oxen, and homemade ploughs and harrows, the list of articles manufactured in South Africa will be almost, if not quite, exhausted.

The farming utensils would now be considered extremely clumsy, though no one thought them so in those days. The plough had only one handle, but was partly kept steady by two wheels of different sizes in front, the larger of which ran in the furrow previously made. Six or eight oxen were commonly used to draw the plough and the services of three individuals—ploughman, driver, and leader—were needed to work it. Wheat was tramped from the straw by horses. Within a circular enclosure the ground was levelled and hardened with anthills moistened and beaten down, the sheaves were then spread out, and a troop of horses was driven quickly round upon them by a man standing in the centre with a long whip. More sheaves were thrown in until the horses became tired. The grain was then cleaned by collecting the trampled mass, and throwing it up in the wind.

CHAPTER LVII.

CONDITION OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE CAPE COLONY AT THE TIME OF THE ENGLISH CONQUEST (*continued*).

In Capetown the white people, who consisted chiefly of government officials, professional men, traders, mechanics, and lodging house keepers, lived just as in a European city of the same size, with the exception that their only domestics were slaves. Those who could afford to do so kept many slaves to perform the housework that in Europe would have been better done by one or two paid servants, others hired their slaves to farmers, others again allowed them to work for themselves upon payment of a fixed sum monthly or weekly. In this way temporary residents could always obtain servants, and contractors to carry out work of any kind were able to procure the labourers they needed. Nearly every stranger who visited Capetown and left his impressions on record was pleased with the place and its people, and thought life could be passed very happily there, though the government found no admirers.

The streets in the town were laid out at right angles with each other, and were perfectly straight from end to end. Those running upward from the shore were very wide, and were provided with deep open drains like miniature canals. The houses bordering on them were usually whitewashed, single or at most double storied, flat roofed, and provided in front with high and broad stoeps extending to the carriage way. They were all built of brick, and covered with plaster. There were six open spaces or squares: the great parade, the hospital square, church square, the stalplein in front of government house, greenmarket square, and Hottentot square or the boerenplein, where the farmers who visited the town outspanned their oxen. Then there was the great garden with its long avenue of oaks, and between it and the foot of the mountain numerous residences surrounded with vineyards and orchards and groves of timber trees. Still farther beyond these, what a view was there not? The great grey mountain rising like the wall of an amphitheatre close by, a belt of green forest a little below, the scattered vineyards and gardens next, and in succession the city, the bay seemingly enclosed like a lake, the sandy flats on its farther side, the distant mountains closing the scene, and above all the deep blue African sky. Where could the traveller gaze upon a picture more variegated or more pleasing than this?

On the corn farms the mode of living was similar to that in other slave holding countries where agriculture was practised. The houses were substantial and commodious, and the outbuildings were ample for every purpose. On slaves fell the labour in the fields, but under the constant direction and supervision of the proprietor and his sons or other European overseers. Some of the establishments of enterprising corn farmers were like little villages, with their granaries, workshops, slave lodges, and stables at a short distance from the owner's house. Sometimes cattle breeding was combined with agriculture, but in such cases a separate farm, often at a distance of two or three days' journey on horseback, was needed for the live stock which were not required for work or for milking. It was usual to send some trustworthy slaves to look after the cattle, and for a member of the proprietor's family to visit the place occasionally to see that all was right. The slaves lived in a roughly built hut, which was the only structure of any kind except the folds or kraals on such a cattle run, so that it remained pretty much as nature made it.

The winefarmers of Stellenbosch, French Hoek, Drakenstein, and Wagenmakers vallei—now Wellington—lived also in substantial houses large enough for all their wants. Many of these houses with their broad stoeps in front, small-paned windows, and many gabled roofs covered with thatch, remained standing until the nineteenth century was far advanced, and very picturesque they looked, with great oak trees near them under which the outbuildings nestled, and vineyards and orange groves around. The work of digging and cleaning the ground, of pruning the vines and gathering the grapes, of pressing and storing, was all done by slaves, but under the constant supervision of Europeans. The vines were not trained on trellises, but were cut back every year, so that they looked like low widespreading bushes. The winefarmers did not require oxen for tilling their ground as the cornfarmers did, so very few of them had cattle runs away from the valleys in which they lived. When wine was in demand at good prices they were fairly prosperous and lived in comfort, but this was not often the case, and at other times they found it difficult to supply themselves with such articles as they needed.

Naturally the life of the graziers beyond the coast plateau visible from Table Mountain was ruder than that of the more settled corn and wine farmers, though it would be incorrect to attribute this to anything like stupidity on their part, for they were capable, under changed circumstances, of living very differently. Though uneducated in book lore, they belonged to one of the most intellectual races in the world, and if intelligence in every branch of knowledge was not apparent, it was because the faculties were dormant, not because they were altogether wanting. The sons of these men, as time has shown, were capable of being trained to fill any position in society. That was the difference between them and the most cultivated individuals of barbarian descent, with whom prejudiced strangers sometimes compared them unfavourably: there was a latent brain power in the one that—except in rare individual instances—there was not in the other. They were simply Europeans of an advanced type who had adapted themselves to a rough environment.

Their houses were small and sparsely furnished, and very few had many slaves, most of them none whatever. Some were half nomads, and regarded as encumbrances whatever could not readily be conveyed from place to place in a waggon. The Xosas and the Bushmen provided them with sufficient excitement to prevent the monotonous course of their lives from being tedious. The men were fond of hunting, and spent much of their time in the saddle pursuing game, chiefly antelopes of various kinds, whose flesh formed a large part of their diet. The women were less active. The mistress of a household issued her instructions to coloured domestics, slave or Hottentot, and distributed the food, but did not do much else except needlework. If the weather was chilly or damp she rested her feet on a little perforated box containing a pan filled with live coals, while beside her stood a coffee kettle never empty. In both sexes there was a tendency to become stout after thirty years of age. The climate, or the abundance of food of the most nourishing kind, or the mode of living, or all combined, had tended to make the people in general taller and larger than their ancestors.

The children had few games, but as a rule were strong and healthy, and like their parents enjoyed life. Boys at an early age learned to ride on horseback, and before they were half grown were as expert in the saddle as their fathers. They were also trained to use firearms as soon as they were strong enough to bear the weight, so that they became probably the most efficient marksmen in the world.

At early dawn every one rose from rest, and after drinking coffee engaged in devotion. Before sunrise the cattle in the kraals were inspected, and on the corn and wine farms the labour of the day was commenced. A couple of hours later the morning meal was taken. After the midday meal every one retired to a darkened room for an hour or two, especially in the summer, and thus avoided exposure to the sun during the hottest time of the day. This was the custom among all classes, so that in Capetown even the shops were closed from one to three o'clock, while their owners were enjoying a siesta. At sundown the evening meal was partaken of, religious exercises followed, and by nine o'clock every one was in bed.

Travellers complained that the colonists of the interior were so taciturn that they would sit for hours together without uttering a dozen words. The reason was that the subjects upon which the one could converse freely were those of which the others were quite ignorant, for among themselves there was no lack of something to talk about, though they certainly had not the lively wit or the power of chatting continually about nothing of consequence which the residents in many European cities possess. Their occupations, their relatives, their cattle, the condition of the pasture, the habits of the various kinds of game, the adventures of their parents and themselves were the usual, but not by any means the sole subjects of their conversation. The state of their church and the different sermons they had heard were to them always interesting topics.

And those travellers who ridiculed the colonists of the interior because of their ignorance of what was transpiring in Europe, and their displaying such indifference to anything of that kind as merely to utter an occasional yes or no when an interesting account was being given, would probably have been surprised if an aged grazier had spoken about the lives of any of the old testament heroes or had compared a storm on the lofty inland plains with that grand description of one given in the twenty-ninth psalm. On subjects like these the grazier could talk freely enough, because they came within the range of his experience. He was living under such skies as those under which Abraham lived, his occupation was the same, he understood the imagery of the Hebrew writers more perfectly than any one in Europe could understand it for it spoke to him of his daily life. He had heard the

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continuous roll of thunder which was as the voice of the Lord upon many waters, and had seen the affrighted antelopes drop their young as they fled before the storm, when the great trees came down with a crash and the lightning divided like flames of fire. He knew too of skies like brass and of earth like iron, of little clouds seemingly no larger than a man's hand presaging a deluge of rain, and of swarms of locusts before whose track was the garden of the Lord, while behind was a naked desert. When he spoke of these things he could be eloquent enough, but they were not subjects for conversation with casual visitors.

During the eighteenth century the colonists in the interior were unaccustomed to the use of many things that are now regarded by all white people in South Africa as necessaries of life. It could not be otherwise, for there was not a single drapery, grocery, or hardware store, wholesale or retail, beyond the first range of mountains. The people never visited Capetown when they could avoid it, because they regarded the officials and law agents and traders as always ready to plunder them. There were hundreds of men and women who had only been there once in their lives, when they appeared before the matrimonial court to obtain the necessary license to enter into wedlock, though occasionally they sent a waggon load of butter and tallow and soap, consigned to an agent, who forwarded in return ammunition, coffee, sugar, pieces of calico or prints, and perhaps a dozen metres of cloth or something else that was much needed. Travelling pedlars—commonly known as smouses or cheats—sometimes made their appearance at distant farms, and were usually found at the church places at the quarterly meetings, but the keeping up of a supply of goods from either of these sources was precarious.

Under these circumstances the graziers had learned to provide themselves with many articles, even of clothing, and to dispense with others. Tanned hides of small animals were often used to make trousers, vests of delicate skins were common, and nearly all the shoes worn were of home manufacture. Socks and underclothing for males were frequently discarded. Crockery, so liable to be broken in long land journeys, was seldom over plentiful, and cups and basins were often of necessity largely supplemented by calabashes, which at all times made most useful milk dishes. Fur karosses served instead of woollen blankets, and katels,* or wooden frames across which thongs of raw hide were intertwined, took the place of imported bedsteads and couches. Quite as comfortable they were too, if they were less handsome in appearance, and a katel, made to fit inside a waggon, as well as to be used in a house, was certainly vastly more convenient than an elaborate piece of furniture for the same purpose would have been. Instead of hair mattresses, feather beds were used, and on many farms flocks of geese were kept mainly for the sake of their plumage. Thus it was possible to live in a homely manner, with but few of those articles which the commerce of the present day has caused the people of the interior to consider indispensable.

Like country people all over the civilised world in those days, the farmers in the interior of the Cape Colony were superstitious. They had no doubt whatever that spirits moved about at night, that certain localities were haunted, and that evil persons were possessed with devils. They turned to their bibles, and asserted that all this could be proved from the sacred writings.

They were acquainted with the medicinal properties of some of the indigenous plants of the country, but in this respect their knowledge was much less than that of the Hottentots or the aboriginal Bushmen. The plant most commonly used was buchu, which was a favourite remedy for diseases of the stomach. Some of those who had much tercourse with the earlier wild inhabitants, and who lived in secluded places, believed in magical cures for diseases, but the great majority laughed at such folly. In general each family took care to have a stock of well known medicines in a tin box called a Huis Apotheek, with the use of which most elderly dames were acquainted. There was very little sickness, however, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, for the simple diet and the pure air were conducive of health. A single qualified medical practitioner was unable to earn a living by his profession alone in a district as large as England.

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*Pronounced kah-tĕls.

Outside of Capetown the recreations of the people were few, owing to their isolation. Those who made their living as wheat or wine farmers and had numerous slaves usually had three or four of the blacks taught the use of the violin, most Africans being gifted with an ear for music and easily learning to play by sound. They had thus the means of entertaining visitors with dancing, and of amusing themselves in the same way when so disposed.

The branches of widely extended families were constantly exchanging visits with each other. A farmer would make a waggon ready regularly every year, when half his household or more would leave home and spend some days with each relative, often being absent a month or six weeks. Birthday anniversaries of aged people were celebrated by the assembling of their descendants and friends, often to the number of eighty or a hundred, at their residence, where a feast was prepared for the occasion. Then as many as possibly could attended the quarterly meetings for the celebration of the sacraments, and usually spent three or four days at the church place. A few wealthy members of the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein congregations had little houses of a couple of rooms built near the churches for their accommodation on these occasions, the others slept in their waggons and had their meals in the open air, like a picnic party. These different reunions were naturally productive of great pleasure, and tended to cement the friendship and love of those who, except at such times, seldom saw each other. As far as real happiness and contentment with their lot were concerned, these South African colonists certainly had their full share.

That is not to say that they were free from trouble, because nowhere else were people exposed to sudden losses so much as in South Africa. Droughts, floods. locusts, cattle diseases, and above all savage enemies frequently reduced many of them to great poverty, but those who had were always ready to help those who had not, and they rallied from distressed circumstances in a marvellously short time. They knew how to make the most of everything that came to their hand, and they were satisfied with little when much was not to be had. There was a feeling of equality among them which probably could not be witnessed in any other part of the world. The poorest and the richest sat down at table side by side, and addressed each other as familiarly as if they had been brothers.

It is unnecessary to enter more deeply into the domestic life of the colonists of South Africa beyond the Cape peninsula, but it should be remembered that the differences in habits between these people and those of a European city were entirely the result of the circumstances under which they were trained. The kind of life led by their ancestors for several generations had made them what they were, the most hardy, self-reliant, and hospitable of all Europeans. In certain respects their veracity was not high, but that was due to the very worst system of taxation that could be devised. They were also disposed to overreach when possible in making bargains, and regarded such a practice as indicating ability rather than dishonesty: how could it have been otherwise with men whose fathers and grandfathers had sold and bought at the East India Company's stores in Capetown? But people more charitable or more ready to aid others in distress never existed. In the eighteenth century there were no benevolent institutions in the country, nor were any needed, for orphans who were poor were always adopted by well-to-do people, who treated them as their own children, and an indigent person advanced in years was never allowed to want food or raiment. If the virtues and the failings of these colonists are balanced against the virtues and the failings of any nation of Europe, they will not suffer by the comparison.

Thus the rule of the Dutch East India Company had brought into existence in South Africa a people to a large extent distinct from all others, with a language, and habits, and ideas of their own. They numbered at this time only about seventeen thousand souls, all told, but the natural increase was very rapid. An unmarried adult female was exceedingly rare, and the number of children in each household was usually large, owing to the sobriety and healthy life of the parents. These South Africans were strongly attached to their customs, and knew how to exercise the utmost degree of patience and perseverance in the maintenance of what they held to be their rights.

Their views concerning their rights were not indeed those of the present day, and they submitted without a murmur to acts of the government that would now be deemed intolerable. Take, for instance, the monopoly of the sale of meat in Capetown, which was so rigidly enforced that a resident could not bring in a sheep from a farm of his own in the country and slaughter it for his family's use. He was obliged to sell the sheep to the holder of the monopoly, and buy from that individual what meat he required at a greatly advanced rate. Yet in all the complaints made by the burghers against the government, it did not occur to them to include this as a grievance. It was regarded simply as a legitimate form of taxation.

Their opinions with regard to the coloured inhabitants of the country were not the opinions of European philanthropists of our times, but neither were those of other civilised people of their day. The system of negro slavery caused them to regard the black man as properly a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, and the mode of living of the indolent and thriftless freedman tended to strengthen that idea. In contact with wild Hottentots and savage Bushmen wherever they went, and with barbarous Xosas on the eastern frontier, observation and experience had taught them that these races who did nothing for the world's good were inferior to their own, and they did not, and could not, set the same value upon the life of one of them as upon the life of a civilised white man. There were instances of harsh treatment of coloured people, but upon the whole the white colonists of South Africa were not more cruel than other Europeans in similar circumstances were at that time. To their feeling of superiority of blood it is due that the present colonies are not inhabited by a mass of improvident and worthless mongrels.

The condition of the colonists with regard to religion at the time of the English conquest remains to be noticed. There were then eight congregations in the whole country, namely six Dutch reformed, one Lutheran, and one Moravian mission, established in the following order:

Place.	Denomination.	Date of approval of first Elders and Deacons.
Capetown,	Dutch reformed,	August 1665.
Stellenbosch,	do.,	20th December 1686.
Drakenstein,	do.,	30th December 1691.
Roodezand, now Tulbagh,	do.,	8th October 1743.
Zwartland, now Malmesbury,	do.,	8th July 1745.
Capetown,	Lutheran,	16th December 1780.
Graaff-Reinet,	Dutch reformed,	13th March 1792.
Genadendal,	Moravian,	Mission to Hottentots commenced in December 1792.

In the Dutch reformed church a new movement was beginning to be felt, caused by the introduction of the ideas known as advanced evangelical. The doctrine preached and professed had indeed always been in theory evangelical, as the clergymen were required once a month to explain and illustrate a portion of the Heidelberg catechism, and that summary of gospel teaching was committed to memory by every individual before confirmation; but in practice what are now regarded as the fruits of this belief were not apparent during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The clergymen have not left a sufficient number of their discourses on record to enable one to judge of the manner in which they commented upon the catechism, but the line of thought which they followed in other sermons is easily ascertained. It was that admission into the visible church, a profession of belief in the bible, the creed, the catechism, and the articles of Dort, together with upright demeanour as a proof of earnestness, constituted a Christian. They disliked everything emotional. In Capetown they mixed little with the people, and when they made their periodical visitations, the schoolmaster, who was also church clerk, went in advance to give notice of their coming. In the country they were required to make occasional tours among their parishioners, and on these occasions they held services at places arranged beforehand, but the size of the territory over which the people were scattered prevented each farm from being visited more than once in a year even under the most favourable circumstances. A stately demeanour was expected from the clergymen, and, as well as it is now possible to ascertain, was observed except in a few rare instances.

The conversion of the heathen was almost entirely neglected. In this respect much greater efforts were made within the first forty years after the foundation of the colony than during the succeeding hundred. It would be possible to make out a long list of slave children who were baptized and confirmed, but there is hardly a trace of any attempt by the clergy to induce the free blacks or Hottentots to adopt the Christian religion.

The form of service in the churches differed little from that of the present day. An old metrical version of the psalms was used until the 5th of April 1775, when the present version was introduced, and there were a few hymns or paraphrases of scripture, which, however, were seldom sung in public worship. The evangelical hymns to which many people are now strongly attached only came into use in Holland in 1806, and were not introduced in the church at Capetown until the 9th of January 1814. It was even later when they began to be sung in the country services, for though many of them are of exceeding beauty and are indisputably based upon gospel teaching, their use in public worship was objected to by a considerable section of the people, who feared innovation of any kind and desired to adhere to the psalms only as inspired by God. This was one of the causes of the subsequent division of the church into two sections. Choirs were unknown, and the whole congregation, without rising from their seats, united in the singing, which was accompanied by the music of an organ where there was such an instrument.

The service commenced by the clerk giving out a psalm, and while this was being sung the clergyman in black gown and white bands entered the pulpit. Then followed the reading of the ten commandments, the creed, and portions of the bible. This was followed by another psalm. Before the sermon—which usually occupied an hour and a half or two hours in delivery—there was an extempore prayer, and after it a similar thanksgiving, during which the men stood but the women remained seated. The service closed with the singing of a psalm and the benediction. All was thus orderly; but these services in the grandeur of simplicity, though faultlessly correct in the opinion of the worshippers, were frequently so cold that they created little enthusiasm. Young people especially could not follow the minute subdivisions of a long sermon that had hardly any practical bearing upon their conduct in life.

The churches were in this condition when in September 1786 the reverend Helperus Ritzema van Lier arrived from Holland, and on the 2nd of October became third clergyman of Capetown. He had hardly entered manhood, but as a boy had been noted for extraordinary diligence in study and for a very retentive memory. Educated at Groningen, he was a master of arts before he was eighteen. He was also a doctor of philosophy and an honorary member of the Academy at Sienna in Tuscany and of the Society of Arts and Science at Batavia. This young man, so highly talented, had entered the church with a full conviction that he was called by God to spread a knowledge of the gospel, and with this view had offered himself to the directors of the East India Company with a recommendation from the classis of Amsterdam. He had thrown himself heart and soul into the ranks of the advanced evangelical party, of which the reverend John Newton, of Olney, was then a leading representative in England. With this clergyman he subsequently entered into correspondence, and six of his letters written in 1789 were translated by the poet Cowper from Latin into English, and published under the title of *Power of Grace, illustrated in Six Letters from a Minister of the Reformed Church to the Rev. John Newton.*

The conversion of the heathen was a subject which occupied a prominent place in the thoughts of Mr. Van Lier, though he was unable to devote himself entirely to that work. There was then no missionary society by which he could be maintained, and he had no means beyond his salary for the support of his family. The directors of the East India Company at this time had some idea of attempting to christianise the various races in their vast possessions. Their plan was to raise a large sum of money by general subscription, to establish a seminary in Holland for the education of missionaries, and to send out men as fast as they could be trained. This project came to nothing, because the Company was hopelessly involved in difficulties, though that was not fully realised by the people at the time. While it appeared to be within the bounds of possibility no one took more interest in it than the young clergyman at the Cape. In 1790 he wrote to an uncle in Rotterdam that he believed he would be able to collect in South Africa fifty thousand gulden—nearly £4,200—towards the capital required.

In the pulpit and out of it he taught that no matter what a man professed to believe, or what his conduct was, he was not a Christian until he felt an entire change in his soul and knew that he was reconciled with God. His preaching was full of earnest appeals to his hearers, and his mode of delivery was such that at times it seemed as if he would spring almost out of the pulpit. Women were often moved to tears, and sometimes fell into hysterics. Some men were attracted, but others were repelled. Outside of the church the clergyman spent much time in going from house to house conversing with the inmates on the state of their souls, holding prayer meetings, and encouraging works of benevolence.

He had not been six years in the colony when he was suddenly struck down by profuse bleeding, and though the physicians concurred in requiring perfect rest, he was again in the pulpit as soon as he had strength to get there. Rapid consumption was now doing its work, his coughing was constant, and at length he fainted while trying to preach and was carried helpless to his home. It was certain then that he would never be able to resume duty, so the commissioners-general Nederburgh and Frykenius placed him on the retired list and granted him a pension. But in his sick room he continued to exhort all who went to visit him, and the rapture with which he met death—on the 21st of March 1793—left a lasting impression on many minds. He was only twenty-eight years of age when he died. His remains were interred at Newlands, where his tomb, kept in repair by the consistory, may still be seen, as he expressed a wish not to be buried within the church, that practice—which continued until 1836—seeming to him to indicate a lack of humility. He left a widow and four children.

Mr. Van Lier was followed in the same line of thought and action by the reverend Michiel Christiaan

Vos, a man of incessant energy, though troubled throughout life with a painful skin disease. Mr. Vos was born in Capetown on the 31st of December 1759, and at an early age felt himself impelled to enter the service of the church. Having received as good an education as could then be obtained in South Africa, in 1780 he proceeded to Europe, leaving behind a wife to whom he had not been four months married. In August 1781 he commenced his studies at the university of Utrecht, and in July 1785 became minister of Woudenberg, where his wife rejoined him after an absence of over six years. He was successively minister of Woudenberg, Pynacker, and Woerden, until at length the directors of the East India Company promised him employment in his native country, which he had from the first desired. He therefore returned to Capetown, in March 1794 was appointed to Roodezand, and on the 4th of May was inducted as minister of that congregation. Here his sphere of labour was more limited than that of Mr. Van Lier in Capetown had been, but he spent much time in attempting to christianise the slaves in the neighbourhood, as well as in holding prayer meetings with the Europeans. He soon succeeded in persuading the greater number of his parishioners to adopt his views, and at a little later date the first missionaries ordained in South Africa were ordained in his church.*

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* It should perhaps be added that this clergyman's disposition prevented him from remaining long in one place. In 1802 he left Roodezand and proceeded to England, where he entered the service of the London missionary society. In 1804 he led a party of six missionaries to India. At Tranquebar, the first place visited, his wife died, leaving no children. He then went to Colombo, and next to Point de Gale, where he married a Dutch lady, the widow of an English officer, who bore him five children. Here difficulties arose between him and other clergymen of the same denomination, owing to their different manner of interpreting their duties, and his position became so unpleasant that he removed to Negapatam. In 1809 he returned by way of Madras to the Cape Colony, and was afterwards stationed at Zwartland and Caledon. In August 1818 he was obliged to retire, owing to physical inability to labour longer.

The introduction of new opinions had the effect of rousing the people from a state of lethargy. In a short time interest began to be taken in the conversion of the heathen, philanthropic institutions of different kinds were originated, and generally the ideas of men with regard to their duties to others were enlarged. This change was not, indeed, universally seen; though in Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Roodezand it soon became apparent, and it possessed the principle of life and growth. Political events engrossed so much attention that the time was inopportune for a great religious movement, but in the minds of a few men and of many women the advanced evangelical doctrine secured a firm and lasting place.

In 1795 the portion of South Africa that had been explored by the Dutch included the Cape Colony, the western coast belt as far north as Walfish Bay, and the eastern coast belt to the Zambesi. Rhodesia, Betshuanaland, the Kalahari, Damaraland, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, Basutoland, and the belt along the seaward base of the Kathlamba mountains were as yet unvisited and entirely unknown. It is indeed possible that roving elephant hunters had crossed the Orange river into Southern Betshuanaland and the lower part of the present Orange River Colony, but if so, they had communicated to others no information concerning their discoveries. Of the Cape Colony itself, though the general features were correctly delineated, there was no map in existence that was even fairly correct in the longitudes of the villages, the rivers, and the mountains.

The settlement of Europeans in the country was disastrous to the aborigines. Bushmen were still numerous along the interior mountain range, but in other parts of the colony there were hardly any left. One may feel pity for savages such as these, destroyed in their native wilds, though there is little reason for regretting their disappearance. They were of no benefit to any other section of the human family, they were incapable of improvement, and as it was impossible for civilised men to live on the same soil with them, it was for the world's good that they should make room for a higher race.

The Hottentots who remained within the boundaries of the European settlement had dwindled away to a few thousands, but it is impossible to form a reliable comparison between their number in 1652 and in 1795. The loss of life with them could not be prevented. The most devoted philanthropists in the world, had they settled in South Africa, must sooner or later have introduced diseases which these people could not withstand, and which would have swept them off as the small pox did. Arrack and brandy contributed to their decline, but to a very trifling extent.

It is questionable whether the Hottentots that remained were happier than their ancestors, or not. Those of the beachranger class were undoubtedly in a better position, and the others were no longer constantly at war and subject to spoliation, while in times of scarcity food could be procured more easily than before. Against these advantages, however, must be placed a great diminution in the number of their cattle, the evils that arise from anarchy, and occasional instances of harsh treatment by Europeans residing at so great a distance from a court of justice as to be practically beyond the reach of law.

It is an axiom that the duty of a civilised government towards people of an inferior race residing within the limits of its authority is to govern them strictly, justly, and kindly. It is, however, a difficult matter to point out in all instances how this can be effectually done, and the words themselves are capable of different interpretations. The Dutch East India Company did not attempt to govern the Hottentots at all. It termed them a free people, and left them in general to act as they chose towards each other. The harshest rule could hardly have had a worse effect upon them.

Before the symbol of its authority disappeared from the castle of Good Hope, the East India Campany had ceased to exist. The great association, whose early history was an almost unbroken record of success, owed its fall partly to the competition of more powerful rivals, chief among which was the English East India Company, partly to its losses in war, which were due to the great superiority in naval strength of Great Britain over Holland during recent years, and partly to the corruption which its system of government fostered among its officials, which was carried to such an extent that many of its establishments were not bringing in the cost of their maintenance, though the heads of them usually retired with great wealth at a comparatively early age. Hopelessly insolvent, it went out of sight when the wave of revolution passed over the Netherlands.

CHAPTER LVIII.

EVENTS IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE condition of the parent state must always affect that of a foreign possession, and this was particularly the case with regard to a parent state so weak in men and in resources as Portugal had now become. In the preceding chapters the progress of a real European colony has been traced, a colony full of life and energy, capable of growth and of occupying no small place in the world's history; in this, a mere possession peopled by barbarians, not entitled in any sense of the word to be termed a colony, has to be dealt with.

During the eighteenth century the history of Portugal presents hardly any subject of interest except the close commercial connection of the country with Great Britain, the growth of Brazil, and the extraordinary vigour of the celebrated minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, better known in his later life as marquis of Pombal. King Pedro II died on the 9th of December 1706, and was succeeded by his son João V, a monarch of no importance, who reigned forty-four years. On his death in 1750 the throne was ascended by his son José I. He chose as his prime minister the man whose commanding intellect and utter fearlessness made the country for a brief space a powerful factor in the affairs of Europe, and whose enmity to the Jesuits has given him a world-wide reputation. The marquis of Pombal, however, regarded the remnant of the Portuguese possessions in India and Eastern Africa as of so little value that he did nothing to raise those dependencies from their state of depression, and it is therefore unnecessary to relate his actions here.

Upon the death of José I, 24th of February 1777, and the fall of the great minister from power immediately afterwards, Portugal at once sank again into her former obscurity. The king, having left no son, was succeeded by his daughter Maria Francisca, who was married to her uncle, her father's younger brother, and he was crowned with her as Pedro III. Both of them were of weak mind, and after her husband's death Queen Maria Francisca became so imbecile that it was necessary for her son Dom João to carry on the government some years before 1799, when he assumed the title of regent. In November 1807 he with his family and his demented mother abandoned Portugal and sailed for Brazil in an English man-of-war, just before the entry of the French army under Marshal Junot into Lisbon. Such being the condition of the government at home, progress in a distant dependency with no special advantages was out of the question.

It may be asserted indeed that from the beginning of the eighteenth century until our own times the Portuguese power in South Africa was almost as unsubstantial as a shadow, and that it continued to exist at all was due to the breaking up of the large Bantu tribes, the immigration of many small clans from the territory north of the Zambesi, and the perpetual wars in which the petty sections were thereafter involved, when the aid of a few Europeans was usually sufficient to turn the scale of victory in favour of any chief whose cause they espoused. Sometimes, however, Portuguese prazo holders were defeated and driven from their estates, which were afterwards occupied by independent Bantu chiefs. These men were generally so jealous of each other that union for common defence, except under extraordinary circumstances, was next to impossible. The country thus presented politically as continual a change as the colours and forms in a kaleidoscope, and if it were possible to do so, it would be as useful to describe in minute detail the varying appearances of the one as of the other. A few instances may be given as specimens of the whole, and a single short chapter will afford ample space for a recital of all that is worth knowing of the transactions of the Portuguese in Africa south of the Zambesi during the eighteenth century.

In 1701 Sena and Tete narrowly escaped destruction in a general rising of the Bantu caused by the oppressive conduct of the commander in chief José da Fonseca Coutinho. He had attacked the most powerful chief in his neighbourhood, defeated him and put him to death, and then elevated his brother to the vacant place. Having been so far successful, he proceeded to conduct himself in such a highhanded manner that his own people rose in revolt. Fifty soldiers were sent from Mozambique to the Rivers to support the king's authority, but the insurrection spread. In 1708 the captain Antonio Simões Leitão was killed in battle. His successor Rafael Alvares da Silva managed, however, more by concession than by force, to arrange terms of peace. This was hardly effected when a difficulty arose between the captain of Tete and the chief of Inyabanzo, who was nominally a vassal of the Portuguese government. In 1710 the chief overran the whole of the prazos connected with Tete, added them to his own domain, and left the white men the village only.

In 1717 a prazo holder named Pedro Carvalho openly rebelled, and many others refused to pay their quitrents. Some were at war with others, just as if they had been Bantu chiefs. One of the most powerful among them, named Manuel Gonçalves Guião, pursued his opponent into Sena, where he not only caused a great many negroes to be killed, but destroyed and burned much property. He even attempted to prevent the newly appointed captain, who arrived while he was there, from entering upon his duty. The government was so powerless that it did not so much as endeavour to punish this ruffian, but tried instead to conciliate him, and actually held out inducements of rank and office if he would conduct himself as a dutiful subject.

In 1722, in return for assistance against his enemy, a chief named Masisa affixed his mark to a document ceding a tract of land about a hundred and four kilometres or sixty-five miles in length along the coast opposite the Bazaruta islands. Such a cession, however, was of no practical value, as the territory could not be occupied, nor could trade be carried on in it to a greater extent than before.

In 1735 a trader at Sofala, named João Pires, went into the interior with a party of slaves carrying goods for barter. On his way he met a son of the kiteve with a band of warriors marching towards the territory of a chief with whom they were at war, and through whose lands Pires wished to pass. The young chief stopped him, and showed such enmity that the slaves fled through fear, when Pires was murdered and his goods were seized. As soon as his widow heard of this, with the consent of the captain of Sofala she raised an army of blacks belonging to clans that had reently arrived in the neighbourhood, who were always ready to embark in any enterprise that offered a prospect of spoil, and made war upon the kiteve. After conquering several of his sub-chiefs she directed her march towards his great place, but he became terrified, and to appease her sent her the head of her husband's murderer and offered to cede a valuable district named Tshironde to her. She accepted the offer, peace was made, and the district remained in name Portuguese territory for more than a century afterwards.

In 1753 the Portuguese of Mozambique were defeated in an engagement with a Bantu tribe on the mainland, when about half of the whole milltary force they could muster perished. This prevented them for several years from assisting their countrymen south of the Zambesi, and in consequence many prazos were lost in the interminable feuds of that period.

In 1760 a chief named Beve, in return for assistance in a war with his neighbour, ceded a large tract near Tete, which had been possessed once before, but had been lost. It was partitioned out again as prazos.

In 1774 the country of the kiteve was overrun by a horde from the north, and the only Portuguese trading station in it except Sofala was destroyed.

In the early years of the century by express order of the king an effort was made to support the monomotapa, and a Dominican friar with a captain and twenty-four soldiers as a bodyguard accompanied him wherever he went. He was now always of necessity a nominal Christian, for the Portuguese would not acknowledge the right of any one to fill the office unless he had been baptized, and without their assistance he was helpless. The name of the man who held the position at this time was Pedro. But little more than the title remained to him, for the old tribe was broken into fragments, each absolutely independent of the others. The succession had of late been nearly always disputed, and the majority of those who claimed to be the heirs had met violent deaths. A clan under a chief named Tshangamira was much more powerful than the one that remained to the monomotapa. In a war between them a considerable number of Portuguese were made prisoners by Tshangamira, and they were kept under guard for several years, until they were finally ransomed by the ecclesiastical administrator of Mozambique.

Under such circumstances it might reasonably be thought that a cession by the monomotapa of territory at a distance from his own kraal would not have been regarded as of much value. Yet the court at Lisbon attached considerable importance to a grant of silver mines made by the monomotapa Pedro, and desired to have it confirmed by his son the friar Constantino do Rosario, who was resident in India. Friar Constantino had not conducted himself to the satisfaction of the vicar general of his order, and in consequence had been deprived of his habit and banished to Macao, but in 1709 by the king's instructions had been brought back to Goa and taken again into his convent, where the viceroy was directed to see that he was treated with every courtesy. In 1711 Pedro died, leaving no other son than Constantino; and a brother of the deceased chief, termed by the Portuguese Dom João, took possession of the vacant place. Thereupon the mother of the friar sent him word of what had happened, and desired him to return and claim his inheritance.

The king was of opinion that if Constantino was made monomotapa, great advantages would accrue to the Portuguese, as he had so long been accustomed to live as a European that his fidelity could be depended upon, and the silver mines, wherever they were, would be secured. He therefore directed the friar Francisco da Trindade, who was then in Lisbon, to proceed to Goa in the first ship that sailed for that port, and to conduct his former pupil from the convent of our Lady of the Rosary to Sena, where the Portuguese were to receive him as the legitimate chief. He was to be treated with such kindness and courtesy as to call forth his lasting gratitude. Constantino, however, had no desire to place himself in such a difficult and dangerous position as that he was invited to strive for, and in 1713 he wrote to the king that he was a professed friar of the Dominican order and had abandoned all hopes of worldly advancement. So he remained at Goa, and the prospect of acquiring silver mines through his agency had to be given up. The king made him an allowance of two hundred xerafins a year from the royal treasury for his maintenance, and orders were issued that he was to be treated with all possible respect.

Six years later Friar Constantino do Rosario appears again in the records of India. He had misconducted himself once more in such a way as to incur the displeasure of the vicar general, and had been threatened with imprisonment. Thereupon, on the 21st of April 1720, the king issued instructions that he was to be sent to Lisbon, without being permitted to land at Mozambique on the way.

The system of carrying on trade, though avowedly for the benefit of the royal treasury, did not prevent private individuals from engaging in it. Such persons frequently obtained licenses from the council of commerce at Goa either to traffic at a particular place or in a particular article, naturally on paying for the privilege as much as or more than could be gained by the council's selling and buying through its own agents. But fraudulent practices were so common that a large portion of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa did not pass through the legitimate channel at all. The governor of Mozambique himself and even some of the members of the council were engaged in traffic on their own account, and if these men, the guardians of the king's interests, were corrupt, what could be expected of their subordinates? The ivory sold in India far exceeded in quantity that which passed through the custom houses, yet the viceroy could devise no other remedy than the sale of a monopoly again. In 1720 he made a contract for the trade with Dom Francisco Alarção Sotomayor, the newly appointed governor of Mozambique, but the king disapproved of it, and it was cancelled.

By the Portuguese court the retention of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was not regarded alone as a question of profit, though that was a weighty consideration, but as a question of national honour. It was all that was left to them of the vast trade of the East that had once been theirs. The English, the Danes, the French, and the Dutch had deprived them of all share of the commerce of Asia, to such an extent indeed that at Goa itself they had to purchase Indian wares from one or the other of these. Eastern Africa alone remained, and they clung to it, though their grasp was feeble. In 1700 Mombasa was wrested from them. In 1725 it was recovered, but four years later the blacks rose in insurrection against Alvaro Caetano de Mello e Castro, the last of the Portuguese captains, and drove him away. A little later the Arabs acquired the stronghold. Feeling its helplessness, the government at Lisbon then withdrew its representatives from Zanzibar and Pate, to prevent their forcible expulsion, and thereafter confined its claims to Pemba and the coast below Cape Delgado.

From this seaboard they were threatened to be driven by other nations who coveted what little trade was to be carried on there. An account of the occupation of Delagoa Bay by the Dutch for several years has already been given, and an attempt by an Austrian Company to establish a factory there at a later date will presently be mentioned.

Corruption was everywhere so prevalent in Eastern Africa that the orders of the king or the viceroy were disregarded by the officials when they stood in the way of making money. The very powder sent for defence was misappropriated by the men who were entrusted with its care. The inhabitants of Mozambique did not hesitate to trade with foreigners, and when the king issued instructions to enforce the law most strictly, it was found impossible to do anything in the matter because the whole of the officials were involved in the guilt. In 1725 a French frigate was allowed to take soundings and survey the harbour of Mozambique, and the governor, Antonio João de Siqueira, gave her officers free access to Fort São Sebastião, entertained them, and received entertainment from them on board their ship in return. For this he was ordered to be arrested and tried at Goa, and the instructions to the viceroy to do everything possible to keep foreigners away from the coast were repeated by the king. They had utterly destroyed the commerce of India, he said, and that of Africa must by some means be retained. But as merchandise could be purchased at a cheap rate from the French and the English, who would also pay well for ivory and slaves, matters went on as before. In 1747 the governor of Mozambique was ascertained to have sold a number of slaves to a French ship, and not only so, but to have entered into a contract with her captain to supply him with many more in the following year and to have received a considerable sum of money in advance. The commerce of the coast north of Mozambique was at this time entirely in French hands.

The council that had the management of the African trade had conducted it in such a manner that by the year 1734 it was two hundred thousand cruzados in debt, and was then borrowing money at the rate of thirty per cent yearly interest to meet its most pressing needs. This could not continue, and in 1739, when some of its members were found guilty of peculation, it was abolished, and the traffic was undertaken directly by the treasury, just as in the early years of the sixteenth century. This system, however, lasted only until the 29th of March 1755, when a royal decree was issued, reserving the traffic in beads as a monopoly of the treasury and throwing open all other trade to anyone who chose to engage in it, upon payment of licenses and customs duties. Thereafter the principal officials carried it on almost exclusively, taking care to manage things in such a way that private individuals could not compete with them.

From this time forward the character of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa underwent a gradual change. Constant wars almost destroyed the collection of gold and ivory, and instead of these articles slaves were exported in ever increasing numbers. The prazos at a distance from the Zambesi were successively wrested from their European holders, and reverted to the condition of pure Bantu territory, so that it was no longer an object for a Portuguese resident in the country to have a large personal following. A few slaves for domestic service were all that he needed, and so whole hordes of the unhappy creatures were sold to strangers or to be conveyed to the plantations of Brazil. At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century this odious traffic was at its height, and our own countrymen were not the least busy of those who were taking in shiploads of negroes from the barracoons at Kilimane and Luabo.

At Inhambane only was trade conducted as in the early days. The back country abounded with elephants, and their tusks were used by the Bantu to exchange at the Portuguese trading station for beads, copper plates, brass wire, and other merchandise of the kind. A description of this place in

1771 given by some wrecked Dutch seamen who were hospitably treated at the fort shows that the garrison consisted of a captain and thirty-six soldiers, and that eight or ten private individuals were residing at the place in huts little better than those of the Bantu. They were all convicts banished to Inhambane either for life or for a term of years, and were occupied in collecting ivory, which was sent to Mozambique in a vessel that came for it once a year.

In 1763 municipal government was introduced into the little settlements. A delegate of the governor went round, and with as much ceremony as possible inaugurated the new system. At Mozambique, Kilimane, and Zumbo, north of the Zambesi, and at Tete, Sena, Sofala, and Inhambane, south of that river, a magistrate, a prosecutor who was also treasurer, a secretary, and three aldermen were elected. But in most of these places municipal institutions were mere names. There was not a sufficient number of people competent to fill the offices, much less an adequate body of electors. There was no revenue, nor any means of raising one. The only purpose served was to make a show on paper, for no object of utility could be gained by such parodies of European town governments.

The Mohamedan population of the Portuguese stations had always been treated with harshness. These people had in general sunk into a servile state, and were not formidable either in spirit or in number. They still carried on some of the retail trade among the Bantu, they furnished crews for the pangayos and luzios employed on the coast, and performed other services that required more skill than that of pure negroes. In 1727 the viceroy João de Saldanha da Gama decreed that they must sell to Christians all slaves brought by them from the interior within six months after reaching the coast, in 1728 he prohibited them from buying baptized slaves, and in 1730 he issued a final order that they could only hold slaves whose fathers and grandfathers had been Mohamedans, or heathen slaves if they caused them to become Christians and did not attempt to pervert them, but they were not to sell slaves except to Christians nor to take them to any country not under Portuguese dominion. Care was taken to prevent them from making converts to their creed among the free Bantu. And at length, from fear that they might assist their co-religionists in case of an attack by the Mohamedans of the north, it was resolved to expel them altogether. In 1765 they were driven from Sofala, and between that year and 1769 many were compelled to remove from Mozambique and the banks of the Zambesi. But as they could only take shelter in other parts of the country where they would be equally dangerous, they were gradually allowed to return, though they were not permitted to own or carry arms.

As regards mission work in South-Eastern Africa in the eighteenth century, there is not much that is satisfactory to be related. The Dominican order, to whom the task of christianising the Bantu south of the Zambesi was mainly entrusted, was very largely affected by the prevailing lassitude and decay of public spirit in the nation, and so many of its members were either Asiatics, Africans, or mixed breeds that little zeal could be expected from it. In 1719 by a royal order all the missionaries in the country who were not vicars of churches or commissioners of the inquisition were removed, as they were believed to be doing more harm than good to the Christian cause. Again in 1725 seven of them were recalled for misconduct. The reformed Franciscans were at this time permitted to collect alms in the country, and had the privilege of removing eleven hundred and eighty kilogrammes weight of ivory from the Rivers every year free of duty. This should have stimulated the Dominicans to reform themselves, as it showed that others might be sent to take their places, but it did not have that effect. In 1728 so many complaints were made regarding their manner of living that the king caused a notification to be made to the superior of the order in Goa that if better men were not employed in the mission field the whole of those who were there would be removed, and Jesuits or secular priests be sent to replace them. Beyond doubt the superior did all that was in his power to correct abuses, but the prevailing habits of most of the men he had to deal with were not to be overcome. In 1751, according to the yearly report furnished to the viceroy, the Dominicans had two friars at Sena, one at Tete, one at Sofala, three at different outstations south of the Zambesi, and one at Zumbo, the most distant trading station in the interior, on the northern bank of the great river. It was intended, however, to send five others to the country in the course of the year. The Jesuits were still represented at Sena, but had abandoned all their other stations south of the Zambesi.

On the 1st of September 1759 the famous decree was signed by King José I, at the instance of the marquis of Pombal, by which the Jesuits were expelled from all the possessions of Portugal. Their usefulness as evangelists among the heathen was denied, and their property everywhere was confiscated. At Mozambique their house was converted into a residence for the governor. But the minister was not satisfied with this, and did not cease his antagonism until Pope Clement XIV issued a brief, on the 23rd of July 1773, which suppressed the famous order. It had then nearly twenty-three thousand professed members. Banished from Roman Catholic countries, and disowned by the pope, the Company of Jesus continued to exist in Russia, however, until its restoration by a bull of Pope Pius VII, issued on the 7th of August 1814.

In 1775 the Dominicans in South-Eastern Africa were ordered to Goa, and were replaced by secular clergy, eight of whom were considered sufficient for the whole coast. Of these eight only three were white men, the others being Asiatic mixed breeds, with a great deal of conceit but very little ability. In 1749 the officials at Mozambique had petitioned the king that the ecclesiastical administrator might have power conferred upon him to ordain priests, in which respect—and in this only—his authority was less than that of a bishop. They stated that the population of the island was growing, and they were of opinion that people of the country, who understood the language of the Bantu inhabitants, if ordained, would be more useful than strangers. The petition was referred to the viceroy, the marquis of Tavora, who replied in 1751 that on his passage out he had been detained two months at Mozambique, and had observed that the number of persons there qualified for admittance to holy orders was extremely small, so he saw no reason for a change. The matter was then allowed to drop. And so, between wars, invasions, and want of competent teachers, Christianity declined in Portuguese South Africa, and among the Bantu quite died out. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only twelve hundred and seventy-seven professing Christians in the whole region south of Cape Delgado, and they comprised the white people and mixed breeds of both sexes and all ages. In addition to these there were in the different villages five hundred and eighty-nine free individuals who were not professing Christians, making one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six persons in all. This was the condition of things after intercourse between the Caucasian and black races extending over nearly three hundred years.

An attempt was made in the middle of the eighteenth century to induce the Portuguese and mixed breeds of the lost Asiatic settlements to colonise South Africa. Many of these people had removed to Goa, where there was nothing for them to do. They were offered free passages and grants of land along the Zambesi, but the country had acquired such an evil reputation that they declined to attempt to make homes in it. In January 1753 the viceroy—the same marquis of Tavora who was so soon thereafter to lose his head in Lisbon for participation, real or imaginary, in the conspiracy that is known by his name—reported that not a single family could be persuaded to remove.

But it would not be correct to attribute such an utter failure to christianise the Bantu and to improve the country as has been described in the last few pages either wholly to want of zealous teachers, or to an incapacity of the Bantu to assimilate European thought, or to want of energy on the part of the Portuguese. Without colonisation on a sufficiently large scale to make the higher indisputably the ruling race, no part of Africa can be brought permanently within the domains of civilisation, and for settlement by Caucasians the portion of the continent along the Indian ocean north of Delagoa Bay was then not at all adapted. On the lower terraces facing the sea and on the banks of the Zambesi fever is endemic, and white children rarely grow up. On the highlands of the interior and in some localities on the third terrace upward from the ocean the climate is healthy, but under the conditions which existed before the middle of the nineteenth century it was not possible to plant colonies there. White people could only make their way gradually onward from the south, and even now, though there is a railroad through the fever and tsetse fly belt down to the nearest coast, the southern route is preferred by nearly every one. Portugal with her limited means cannot justly be blamed for not doing what the wealthiest and most populous country of Europe must have failed to accomplish if an attempt had been made.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century Delagoa Bay was neglected by the Portuguese. In 1755 a trading party from Mozambique occupied for a few weeks a site on the southern bank of the Espirito Santo, just as others had done on one of the islands during the preceding century, but they resided there temporarily on sufferance of the Bantu chief, not at all as proprietors.

In June 1757 the Dutch ship *Naarstigheid* put into the bay dismasted and so leaky that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Her crew remained there over two years before they were relieved, without seeing or hearing of any Portuguese. The country around was thoroughly explored, and several men. while endeavouring to make their way to the Cape of Good Hope, travelled beyond Port Natal. At the farthest point which they reached they found some half-breeds, children of two Englishmen who had been saved from a wrecked ship. They also learned that a Dutch vessel had reecntly visited Port Natal. At that time the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood of the bay was a man named Mangova, who was the ruler of the tribe along the Tembe river, and who had the hereditary title of kapela, just as the chief of the Makalanga had the hereditary title of monomotapa. The tribe that occupied the island Inyaka and the peninsula south of it was then in a state of vassalage to him.

In 1775 a gentleman named William Bolts, who had been in the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, but had left that occupation under a feeling of resentment at the treatment he had received, formed a project for establishing a new trading company on the shores of the Indian sea. Aided by some capitalists in Antwerp he formed an association termed the Asiatic Company of Trieste, which obtained a charter from the empress Maria Theresa granting full power to enter into commercial and colonising arrangements with independent rulers in Asia and Africa, and conferring many important privileges, together with a commission as lieutenant-colonel, upon its founder.

In September 1776 Colonel Bolts sailed from Leghorn with a number of adventurers of various nationalities and a company of soldiers in a large ship well armed and carrying a cargo of goods believed to be suitable for the eastern trade. It was not an undertaking of much magnitude, but it might lead to something more extensive, so considerable opposition was roused, and at Madeira, where the ship touched, assistance of every kind was refused. The English East India Company also sent instructions to its officials everywhere not to permit provisions to be sold or water to be supplied to the Austrians at any place where it could be prevented. Colonel Bolts therefore did not touch at any port after leaving Madeira until he reached Delagoa Bay, where it was his intention to form a trading station

No Europeans of any nationality were found there when the expedition arrived, but there was a Bengalese who professed to be a Mohamedan living with the Bantu, and he made himself extremely useful as an interpreter. Through his agency after a short time a purchase of ground on each side of the mouth of the Maputa river was made from the chiefs Kapela and Matola, and possession was formally taken of it by the Englishman Colonel Bolts in the name of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa. Meantime two vessels under the British flag, commanded respectively by Captains McKenny and Cahill, had arrived from Bombay for the purpose of trading for ivory, and their officers and crews were present as spectators when the Austrian ensign was hoisted.

Some temporary houses and stores were then erected near the mouth of the Maputa and also on Inyaka island, and trade was commenced. After a stay of four months, when everything seemed to be in good working order, Colonel Bolts proceeded to India in his ship, leaving Mr. A. D. Pollet in charge during his absence. On the Malabar coast he purchased three small vessels suitable for trading between India and Africa, and sent them to Delagoa Bay with Indian wares required in commerce with the Bantu and provisions for the people at the station. Some Asiatic artificers were also engaged at Surat and sent to Delagoa Bay, by whom better houses were put up for the people and a thirteen gun battery was erected at the mouth of the Maputa. A Mohamedan teacher was also engaged, and was sent with his family to the station to attempt the conversion of the Bantu, as Colonel Bolts believed that they certainly would not adopt Christianity and that Mohamedanism would be better than no religion at all. He was not aware that they had an object of worship, as he saw no rites or ceremonies of any kind practised by them.

After Colonel Bolts' return, some trade in ivory was carried on, and the little vessels were kept pretty busy. He formed plans for cultivating sugarcane and cotton, and for inducing the Bantu to grow rice and vegetables for sale. He purposed further to open up a trade in gold with the people away in the north, and to form a branch station high up on the bank of the Maputa. The people were suffering from fever, but he thought that would soon pass away and they would become acclimatised. To carry out his projects it was necessary for him to return to Europe, to renew interest in his undertaking and to obtain further means for carrying it on. He accordingly sailed in the ship, leaving the station as he thought in security.

No Portuguese had ever been seen there by the Austrians, but nearly two years after the formation of the station the viceroy at Goa came to learn of its existence, and as soon as he could do so he sent a protest against its continuance, on the ground that the shores of the bay were Portuguese territory. Soon after this Colonel Bolts arrived in Europe, where he found that the empress Maria Theresa had recently died, and the minister Prince Kaunitz was indisposed to assist him. Upon a protest from the Portuguese government reaching Vienna, the prince even withdrew the company's charter and left it to its fate.

An order was then sent from Lisbon to the viceroy to endeavour to assert his right by force of arms, and in consequence the frigate *Santa Anna* was sent from Goa with three hundred soldiers to expel the Austrians. Meantime the people at the bay were stricken with fever in a very severe form, and in a quarrel with the Bantu some of the principal officers were killed and the station on the island of Inyaka was destroyed.

On the 30th of March 1781 the *Santa Anna* reached her destination. Two of the little unarmed vessels under the Austrian flag were in the bay when she arrived, both of which were seized and sent to Goa. The few fever-stricken people at the fort on the Maputa river were incapable of offering resistance, so the Portuguese commandant, Joachim Vicente

Godinho de Mira, made them prisoners, and destroyed the whole establishment.

To prevent other powers from taking possession of the place on the ground of its being unoccupied, it was now considered necessary to erect a small fort there, and in January 1782 the captain Joaquim d'Araujo was sent with a few men from Mozambique for that purpose. The captain's death, sickness among the men, and the hostility of the Bantu prevented the completion of the design, and in 1783 the acting captain, João Henriques d'Almeida, abandoned it and returned to Mozambique. In 1784 another party was sent with the same object, but was wrecked at the Bazaruta islands. In 1785 still another expedition was made ready, and this one was successful, for in 1787 a small fort was completed on the site which the Dutch had occupied more than half a century earlier on the northern bank of the Espirito Santo. A trading establishment was added to it, and now, for the first time, the Portuguese occupation was more than transient.

In 1794 civil war broke out in the kapela's tribe, and José Correia Monteiro de Mattos, commandant of the little fort, by taking part with one of the combatants obtained a nominal deed of cession of the whole Kapela country to Portugal. The document was dated 10th of November 1794, but no steps were taken to assert authority of any kind over the Bantu or the territory.

In October 1796 two French frigates entered the bay and destroyed the fort, which was then occupied by an unusually strong garrison of eighty men. The Portuguese retired into the back country, where they lived in the greatest discomfort until May 1797, when a vessel arrived from Mozambique and rescued most of them.

For some years British and American whalers had frequented the bay and made of it a base of operations, just as the buccaneers and illicit traders had done at the beginning of the century. They did not trouble themselves about any question of ownership, but came and went as suited their convenience, and trafficked with the Bantu without any recognition of Portuguese authority or customs laws. In June 1798 the British Indiaman *Lion* put in there in distress, and found three English and three American whaling ships at anchor. Captain Sever, who commanded her, engaged the three British vessels to take his cargo home, as the *Lion* was not seaworthy. She was anchored in the river, abreast of the site of the fort, which the French had levelled with the ground. Several Portuguese soldiers and a few Mohamedans of the coast were living in the neighbourhood, expecting a vessel from Mozambique with the next favourable monsoon to take them away.

The place remained without a garrison until the 7th of June 1799, when the captain Louis José arrived with a detachment of troops from Mozambique. There was war at the time among the Bantu on the northern side of the Espirito Santo, so he entrenched himself on the other bank, where he remained about a year, when with comparative safety he was able to remove to the site of the destroyed fort and rebuild it.

At the close of the eighteenth century the trading and mission stations that had once existed in the interior were so completely lost that no one could even point out their sites, and all vestiges of the influence once exercised by the Portuguese in the Kalanga country had disappeared. The Bantu tribes of earlier days had been entirely broken up, and the ancient titles had been forgotten, except that of kiteve, which remained until 1803, when the chief Fika, the last who bore it, died. Most of the descendants of the people whom the Europeans had found in the country in the sixteenth century had been exterminated, and strangers from the distant north had taken their places. Tete, Sena, and a few prazos along the lower Zambesi and in the neighbourhood of Sofala, with the forts at Inhambane and Lourenço Marques comprised the Portuguese dominions in South Africa, and these were held with very feeble hands. Commerce was almost confined to the export of slaves. Depression and decay were visible everywhere, and no feature of a pleasing kind, except a slightly increased knowledge of the country towards the west, is to be found at this period.

From very early days there was a desire on the part of the government at Lisbon to form a connection between the eastern coast and Angola by means of a caravan path, but it was impossible to open such a road. The tribes in the way were constantly at war, they spoke different dialects, and each one was ready to strip a traveller who should attempt to pass through its territory. Trifling articles of merchandise, which probably changed hands many times in transit, passed over at long intervals from coast to coast, but no individual, white or black, is known to have accomplished the journey before the nineteenth century, nor was any reliable information obtained concerning the upper course of the Zambesi or the territory south of it.

In May 1796 a man named Manuel Caetano Pereira, the son of a Goanese and a negress, left Tete for a journey inland, and upon his return reported that he had reached the residence of the chief Kazembe, in about longitude 29° east of Greenwich, but the information he gave was confused and could not be relied upon. He accompanied the expedition of 1798, and was found to have no knowledge of value.

On the 3rd of July 1798 an expedition properly equipped by the government, and commanded by Dr. Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, a gentlemen of scientific attainments, great general ability, and much previous experience in Brazilian and African travel, left Tete with the object of trying to reach the western coast. Dr. Lacerda's instructions, issued in the name of the queen, were that he should ascertain the source of the Kunene river which flows into the Atlantic, find out if a road for commerce could not be opened between the two coasts, and report upon the condition of the tribes on the route and the means necessary for bringing them into the Christian fold. The expedition consisted of fifteen to twenty Portuguese and mixed breeds, fifty so-called soldiers, and a number ever varying from one to four hundred slaves and native porters. Dissension among the Europeans and mixed breeds was rife from the beginning of the journey, and it was with great difficulty that the resolute leader preserved anything like order among them. Frequent desertion of slaves and hired porters also caused great annoyance and delay.

After encountering all the difficulties of African travel where the tribes are uncontrolled, the expedition arrived at the kraal of Kazembe, but there the leader, worn out with fever, fatigue, and annoyance, died on the 18th of October. The chaplain Francisco João Pinto then took command. He did not attempt to proceed farther, and after remaining with Kazembe until July 1799, set out to return to Tete, which place he reached on the 22nd of November of the same year. The results of this expedition were meagre, though some knowledge of the country to the north-west was obtained.

CHAPTER LIX.

HISTORY OF THE KORANA CLANS AND THE BETSHUANA TRIBES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It has already been stated that shortly after the occupation of the Cape peninsula by the Dutch, some of the Hottentots who had previously lived in that part of South Africa began to move away in a north-easterly direction. There was no other line of emigration open to them, for both to the north and the east their advance would have been opposed by tribes of their own race, who would certainly at least have deprived them of their cattle. The country which they entered was occupied only by Bushmen, and therefore no trace of their wanderings is to be found in the contemporary official records of the colony, for no European or Hottentot with whom Europeans came in contact knew anything about it. It is only from the traditions of the descendants in the sixth generation of those who migrated into the interior that any information concerning this movement is to be obtained. Fortunately those traditions were collected by the reverend Mr. Arbousset, the reverend Mr. Kallenberg, Mr. G. W. Stow, and others before the whirl of events that followed the discovery of the diamond mines confused and distorted the historical legends of every Hottentot and Bantu clan south of the Zambesi.

According to those traditions, the first party to move away from the Cape district was a section of the clan known in the early Dutch records as the Gorachouqua, who were under the leadership of Eikomo, son of the chief Kora—the Choro of Mr. Van Riebeek—who had died when still young. As they were the pioneers, those who followed gave them precedence in rank and adopted their name, Koraqua, that is the people of Kora. This party must have followed very closely the line of the present railway until the Nieuwveld mountains were passed and the great interior plain drained by tributaries of the Orange river was reached. This route took them far from any territory known before to Hottentots, so that they were explorers as well as emigrants. In the present colonial divisions of Victoria West and Richmond the pioneer party was joined in course of time by many little bands of refugees from the various Cape clans, the Cochoqua, the Chainouqua, and the Goringhaiqua, until the whole formed a numerous horde. They were divided into many little clans, who roamed over the whole country between the Nieuwveld mountains and the Orange river.

In their new home these people lived just as their ancestors on the coast belt had done. The various clans were constantly pillaging each other of cattle and women, but against the Bushmen they were united as one body. The aborigines there made a stubborn resistance, as they did everywhere else, and they managed to some extent to hold their own, though large numbers perished and many of their girls were captured and detained as concubines by the invaders of their hunting grounds. The Koraqua, or Korana as the whole of these Hottentots now termed themselves, lived almost entirely upon milk when they were in possession of cattle, and clans that had been impoverished existed upon wild plants and the chase. Drowsy and vacant-minded in appearance, they were indolent to the last degree, except when engaged in plundering expeditions, in warfare against the aborigines, or in dancing and revelling on moonlit nights. Where milk was plentiful a great portion of the day was spent in sleeping. Their ancestors had been acquainted with the use of iron, but in their wanderings they had lost all knowledge of the manner of obtaining that metal, and now used only stone and bone for arrowheads. In warfare with the Bushmen they protected their bodies with enormous shields of hide, which gave them a decided advantage.

Time passed on, and by the year 1775 there were some twenty-five or thirty little Korana clans, quite independent of each other, on the plain south of the Orange river. Each clan was nominally under the rule of a chief, who possessed very little real power, however, for every man did pretty much as he chose. Meanwhile the European colonists had gradually migrated northward, and were now occupying farms, or rather large cattle runs, along the great mountain range that bounds the interior plain. The recent strenuous efforts made by the white people to clear that range of Bushmen supplied conclusive evidence that they were determined to advance, and so some of the Koranas thought it was high time for them to do as their ancestors had done, and move a long way farther forward. About 1775, or perhaps a little later, for the first time they crossed the Orange, at some fords not far below the junction of the Vaal, and penetrated the country to the northward. The clans that made this venture were the Taaibosches—the highest in rank of them all, as the chief Kunapsoop who was their head was a direct descendant of Kora and Eikomo,—the Lefthanded ones, the Toovenaars or Wizards, and the Cats.

The last three for a time scattered about in the territory along the western bank of the Vaal as far up as the junction of the Hart, where they occupied themselves with trying to exterminate the Bushmen, the only earlier inhabitants. The Taaibosch clan settled for a year or so at the site of the present village of Griquatown, and then moved away to the northward, as other bands—the Scorpions, the Hippopotami, the Tall ones, the Stabbers, the Upright ones, the Narrow cheeks, the Rats, and many more—were following on its trail.

One of these clans—the Springboks—though not the largest in number of fighting men, at this juncture became much the most powerful, on account of its having a man of nearly pure European blood as its leader. The renegade was named Jan Bloem, and was the son of a halfbreed

Hottentot woman and a German colonist who had wandered about from place to place in the European settlement, preferring a nomadic life to one of settled industry. Jan Bloem added to his father's vagrant habits a strong inclination to become the possessor of large herds of cattle, and was an undisguised robber. Having collected a number of Hottentots as a following, he moved about beyond the colonial border, attacking and plundering the Namaquas near the coast and the various little Korana clans in the interior. In his wanderings he discovered in the very heart of the territory still left to the Bushmen a fountain of water in a situation that was to his liking, and this place he made for some years his headquarters. To the present day it bears his name, Bloemfontein, though the origin of the term is sometimes attributed to wild flowers having been found there by some early explorer.

When the Korana clans began to migrate to the country north of the Orange, the robber captain with his followers moved from Bloemfontein to the junction of the Hart river with the Vaal, where the Batlapin kraal Likhatlong now stands, and fixed his residence there for a time. Through the agency of some unprincipled white men living on the colonial border he was able to obtain ammunition and even a few guns and some horses in exchange for cattle, which he could now easily procure in abundance by taking them from the immigrant clans. The bandits obtained recruits from various sources, being joined by many Hottentots from the colony and even by a few Koranas, and the female portion of the community was composed of Hottentot and Bush women. The band thus became a terror to the immigrant Koranas, who, being armed only with bows and arrows and mounted on pack oxen, were unable to oppose a few ruffians on horseback carrying firearms.

The Springbok clan, who admired and envied Jan Bloem as much as they feared him, quickly worked out a scheme to save themselves from his further depredations. They joined him in a body, by electing him to be their chief and leader. He accepted the position, selected a number of their girls to add to his harem, and thereafter was acknowledged as the most powerful of the Korana captains. His government was very much stricter than that of any of the other chiefs, so that the Springbok clan was not a mere rabble, but was a compact, well organised, and fairly disciplined robber band, with a daring and skilful man as its head.

At this time the advance posts of the Betshuana who were migrating southward were on the Kuruman river and at Taung on the Kolong or Hart. The history of every Bantu tribe as told by its own antiquaries is a biography of its chiefs, and this is not so defective as might at first thought appear, because everything in the life of the people depends upon the character of the ruler. If he is a weak, irresolute, incapable man, his tribe will be of little or no account, but if he is strong-minded and able, his people will advance proportionately. A strict, despotic, even cruel government, a government where life or death depends upon the word or the mere inclination of the head of the chief, seems necessary to bring out what is best in these people. It appears paradoxical to say that a slave, as the subject of a Bantu military despot really is, has more manliness and self-restraint, is in every way a nobler individual, than a freeman in a mildly governed Betshuana community, but it is nevertheless the truth.

When the Korana clans crossed the Orange, the Barolong under the chief Tao were by far the most powerful tribe in the country extending from that river a long distance to the northward. According to their antiquaries Tao was fourteenth in descent from Morolong, the founder of the tribe in the distant land among the lakes from which it migrated and moved gradually down to the south. The line of descent is given as follows: (1) Morolong, (2) Noto, (3) Morare, (4) Mabe, (5) Mabuli, (6) Molotu, (7) Mabewe, (8) Molibu, (9) Tsesebe, (10) Setlare, (11) Masepe, (12) Mokopa, (13) Tibele, (14) Tao.

Of Morolong, the founder from whom the tribe took its name, nothing whatever is known, but it is believed that in his time the long journey to the southward commenced. The cause of the migration is also not remembered any more. It is, however, safe to assert that it must have been war, as was the case with so many other tribes that have been compelled in historical times to wander far from their earlier homes. Noto, the hammer, the son of Morolong, is the ancient hero of the tribe, and around his name has gathered a great deal of legendary lore, similar to that connected with Tshawe of the Amaxosa. Most of this is certainly fabulous, still he must have been a man of unusual ability, under whose guidance something important really did take place, or so much that is praiseworthy would not have been related of him by succeeding generations From Noto to Tibele only the names are given, with a few trifling incidents connected with one or two of them, showing that none were men of any mark, and that the tribe in their days was of no importance whatever.

Then comes Tao, the lion, the name that every Morolong to the present day venerates as that of the chief who raised the tribe to the zenith of its power and renown. The Betshuana system of government is the least despotic form known to any Bantu, it allows the right of free speech to every man, admits of a public discussion of matters of weight, though the opinion of a commoner is lightly regarded compared with that of a member of the ruling family, and provides for an appeal from the decision of a petty chief to one of higher rank. It is only a ruler of indomitable will and greater general ability than any one around him possesses who can act as an autocrat and take all authority over one of these tribes into his own hands. Such a man was Tao, chief of the Barolong during a great portion of the last half of the eighteenth century. Cruel almost beyond the conception of Europeans, treacherous to a degree that civilised men would regard as infamous, caring so little for the lives or the rights of his own people that he was in the habit of causing any one who offended him in the slightest degree, whether male or female, adult or child, to be hurled over a precipice, at the foot of which was a great heap of the bones of his victims, Tao was still adored as the chief under whose rule the Barolong could plunder others without fear of being plundered in turn, the ruler who destroyed every foe except the wild Bushmen, who were more like jackals than human beings, in the wide expanse of territory south of the Molopo river, from Schoon Spruit on the east to the great desert on the west. The siboko of the tribe was iron, but it had long ceased to have any signification for them.

Before the arrival of the Barolong in this district, it had been thinly occupied by the Bataung or Leghoya, whose siboko was the lion, the Batlapin, whose siboko was the fish, and those still earlier immigrants who had been reduced to the lowest stage of poverty and who went by the name of Balala and Bakalahari. In addition there were the aborigines or Bushmen, who had been greatly reduced in number by the Bantu invaders, but who still held their own except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Betshuana towns and millet fields.

The Bataung were descended from a horde that had come down from the north in advance of the Barolong, and the enmity between the different sections or waves of the invading body was in no other instance so deeply seated as between these two. The weaker party now moved away to the eastward, and after a time crossed over the Vaal and settled in the territory south of that river.

The Batlapin must originally have been an offshoot of the Barolong tribe, or both have been offshoots of one now forgotten, as their language and customs are almost identical. From their own traditions, however, this cannot be ascertained, and it is therefore not possible to state whether the separation took place before or after they left their distant northern home. What is certain is that the Batlapin arrived in the territory south of the Molopo in advance of the Barolong, and that they had lorded it over the earlier inhabitants, seizing everything they could lay their hands on in the orthodox Betshuana manner. The names of their chiefs have been preserved for a few generations, but as none of them before Mashwa did anything of the slightest importance, it would serve no good purpose to give them here.

Mashwa (tumours) was chief of the Batlapin when Tao became the head of the Barolong. He declined to surrender his independence or his property, and was consequently attacked and partly plundered. But his people, though incapable from defect of courage of meeting an enemy of equal number in the open field, were adepts in guerilla warfare. They cut off stragglers, planned ambuscades, and whenever warmly pressed they retreated for a time into the desert. But while carrying on warfare of this kind they were unable to make gardens, and as all Betshuana depend largely for food upon vegetable productions, they sank into a condition of great poverty. After a time they were entirely driven from the eastern part of the territory, and were scattered about on the western side, on the border of the desert. Here they were rapidly becoming Balala, and had ceased offering resistance, merely fleeing into the desert whenever their scouts announced the approach of a Barolong band, when Mashwa died.

He was succeeded by his son Molehabangwe, the only Batlapin chief of any real ability in all their history, who professed submission to Tao, and was permitted as a vassal to settle at Lithako. He was very poor and very weak, however, at this time, and it was his policy to appear even poorer and weaker than he actually was, in order to divert the attention of his master from himself and his people. This was the condition of the Batlapin tribe when the Korana clans entered the territory from the south.

North of the Molopo and Vaal rivers, the country for a great distance, in some parts quite to the Zambesi, was occupied by branches of the great Bakwena family, the last wave of invaders from the heart of the continent into the territory now known as Betshuanaland. Of all the Bantu tribes ever met by Europeans, the Bakwena, or those whose siboko was the crocodile, were the most advanced as a manufacturing and a commercial people. Their iron implements, wooden utensils, mat and basket work, pottery, and skin robes were all superior in workmanship to those of the other branches of the Betshuana family, and much more so to those of their distant kindred on the eastern and western coasts. The cause of this cannot even be conjectured, but the fact remains that the Bakwena before they crossed the Zambesi to make new homes for themselves in the southern land were for barbarians highly skilled as artisans.

They were keen traders also. Commerce by them as by all other Bantu was regarded as a privilege of the chiefs, but there was less restriction upon it, and commoners were permitted to engage in it more freely, upon payment of course of heavy dues, than was the case with any other tribes. Their habitations had reached the extreme degree of convenience and comfort that a circular apartment without chimney or window is capable of. Some of them were ornamented with zigzag, diamond shaped, or other simple patterns in colour on the walls, which were smoothly plastered with clay, and these habitations with their enclosures and granaries were quite as neat and comfortable as the dwellings of many European peasants.

The Bakwena were less addicted to offensive warfare than the other Bantu, but when attacked they were capable of making a good defence. They were in the habit of moving their towns frequently from one locality to another, for sanitary reasons as well as on account of the exhaustion of the soil of their gardens, for they were unacquainted with the use of manure to sustain the fertility of the soil. They had not learned to conserve water even for household purposes, and consequently never attempted to irrigate cultivated land, so that occasionally they lost their crops from drought. Swarms of locusts sometimes destroyed their gardens, when they avenged themselves by capturing great quantities of the insects, which they dried and preserved for food.

The Bakwena, a title now applied only to one tribe of no particular importance, in the eighteenth century was the designation of all the people whose chiefs traced their descent from Mogale, the most remote name preserved, though they then formed many tribes politically independent of each other. Sections of these people occupied not only the whole country along the eastern border of the Kalahari where their descendants—the Batawana, the Bamangwato, the Bakwena of our day, the Bakatla, the Bahurutsi, and the Bangwaketse—are still found, but the entire territory between the Vaal river and the Zoutpansberg eastward to the range of mountains that bounds the interior plain, and towards the close of the century some of them, such as the Bamonaheng, a section of the Bafokeng, and the Bamokoteri, crossed the Vaal and made their way southward to the banks of the Caledon, where their remnants that survived the wars of Tshaka were collected together by Moshesh to form the nucleus of the present Basuto tribe.

All these sections or divisions of the same family venerated the crocodile as their ancient siboko, but most of them had another siboko as well. In the course of the unknown period of time that had passed away since the Bantu became a distinct branch of the human species, the Betshuana must have gone through innumerable struggles, successes, and reverses, during which the original idea of the siboko, that it was the animal in which the spirits of their ancestors and especially of the ancestors of their chiefs still lived and appeared to them, had become faint with some and entirely lost by others; and it was now to many merely a custom that had come down to them from times of old to respect some particular animal, or even some inanimate thing, they knew not the reason why. The names given to chiefs are frequently those of well known objects, as for instance the great tree, signifying that under his shadow his people can rest secure, the lofty mountain, signifying that he is a fortress to them, the river, signifying that there is no thirst under his rule, as well as of animals, such as the spider, the wild cat, the lion, which convey their own meaning directly. If a section of a tribe separated from the main stem under the guidance of a chief thus termed, it would thereafter be called by his name, and in compliment to him would adopt as a new siboko the object so designated. For instance, if his name was Mokala, a camelthorn tree, the new tribe would be termed the Bamokala, and the camelthorn tree would be adopted as an additional siboko. It would then depend upon circumstances whether the two sibokos would be retained, or which of them would fade away and ultimately be lost.

Among all the Bakwena tribes the Bahurutsi was the highest in rank, because its chief was the direct descendant from Mogale in the main line. It had no exclusive privilege, however, except that of taking the first place in ceremonies when others were present, and of claiming assistance in times of great trouble. The line of descent, as given by Mr. G. W. Stow and verified from the lists of other inquirers, is (1) Mogale, (2) Mété, (3) Masilo, (4) Malope and a younger brother named Kwena, who separated from the main stem and founded the present Bakwena tribe, (5) Mohurutsi and his younger brothers Mangwato and Ngwaketse, three sons of Malope, when the tribe divided into three sections, each of which took the name of the chief at its head, which it retains to the present day. Then follow thirteen names of chiefs in the direct line from Mohurutsi, ruling the Bahurutsi tribe, but they need not be given here, as none of them were men of note in the country and the tribe is insignificant now.

From Kwena, second son of Masilo, the twelfth in descent was Setsheli, the chief of the Bakwena tribe with whom the reverend Dr. Livingstone lived in the middle of the nineteenth century, and whose son Sebele is head of the tribe at the present day. From this tribe the Bamokoteri branched off under a minor chief sixth in descent from Kwena, and the Bafokeng under a minor chief in the next generation. The first of these new tribes and a section of the second, as already stated, moved away eastward, and after wandering about for many years finally crossed the Vaal river* and settled on the banks of the Caledon, where previously the only inhabitants were Bushmen.

According to the antiquaries of the Bamangwato tribe, the duration of the government of each of its early chiefs was unusually long, though no events of any importance occurred in their time. From Mangwato, second son of Malope, the fourth in descent was Matsheng, who was expelled by his brother Sekhome, the father of Khama, the head of the Bamangwato tribe at the present day and the most enlightened Bantu ruler in South Africa. From this tribe the Batawana, now living at Lake Ngami, branched off under a minor chief named Tawana, a grandson of Mangwato.

The third son of Malope, Ngwaketse by name, was the founder of the Bangwaketse tribe. His immediate successors were of no note, but fifth in descent from him came Makaba, who was in his day the most famous of all the Betshuana chiefs, and of whom much notice must presently be taken. He was the grandfather of Bathoen, the present head of the tribe.

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*A section of the Bafokeng remained behind when the remainder of the tribe crossed the Vaal. It was almost exterminated some years later, but increased in number rapidly after coming under the protection of white men, and is now fully nine thousand strong.

The Batlaro tribe was founded by a minor chief fifth in descent from Mohurutsi, and the Bamonaheng by the second son of the chief fifth in descent from Kwena. The first of these—the Batlaro—is still in existence, and the second—the Bamonaheng—was much the most important of those whose fragments were gathered together by Moshesh to form the largest and most powerful Bantu tribe in South Africa at the present day.

Far the greater number of the Bakwena tribes of the last half of the eighteenth century perished utterly in the terrible wars that originated with the Zulu chief Tshaka, so that even their titles cannot now be recovered. The names of others are known, but to give them here would merely be to put before the reader a number of meaningless words, which would add no value to the narrative.

The Bakwena had prospered greatly in their southern home. Being less warlike than any other known Bantu, and having no powerful enemies in their neighbourhood to assail them, they lost fewer lives, and there seems to have been nothing else at that time to check their rapid growth. Every marriageable girl became a wife, and so, in a state of comparative peace and with plenty of food, their number augmented at a rate quite unknown in any part of Europe. Cattle plundering expeditions against each other furnished them with a little excitement, but were never utterly ruinous, for in these adventures, as they were regarded, among people of the same siboko, the gardens were usually left untouched, and the women and children were not molested. The aborigines gave some trouble, but the territory was of such enormous extent that there was still room and game enough for both them and the Bantu newcomers, so that they had only to keep away from the towns to avoid molestation.

The advent of the Koranas soon put matters on a very different footing. The clan since called the Taaibosch, of which Kunapsoop was chief, was the one in advance, and had reached the Kuruman river when Tao, the ruler of the Barolong, hearing of the arrival of a strange people, resolved to pay them a visit. This was contrary to Bantu etiquette as well as to common prudence, but Tao, confident in the strength of the party that attended him, carried out his purpose. He was received in the most friendly manner, and having satisfied his curiosity, he returned to his home, which was then at Taung, the town he had built on the Hart river, and which has ever since been called by his name.*

Probably he resented the intrusion of the strangers into the territory he had conquered, and was resolved to destroy them. After a time he repeated his visit to their camp, and was again received in the most hospitable and friendly manner. How a conversation was maintained where there could have been no interpreters has not been explained by any one who transmitted an account of these occurrences, but to prepare beef for food and to set it before guests needs no explanation, and perhaps nothing more took place. According to the traditional accounts, when the Koranas were completely off their guard Tao and his men suddenly sprang to their feet, drew their weapons, which they had previously kept concealed, and murdered Kunapsoop and many of his people.

The Koranas were divided into a great number of little clans in every respect independent of each other, except that on occasions like the present they were capable of working together. The remnant of Kunapsoop's band elected his brother Taaibosch (the sumach), after whom this branch of the Korana horde has since been called, to be their chief, and they were at once offered aid by many others. Taaibosch proved himself a skilful and prudent leader, and prudence was even more needed than courage, for at this time the bone and stone tipped arrows of the Koranas, though coated with poison, were much inferior as weapons to the assagais, battleaxes, and iron tipped arrows of the Betshuana. In the matter of mobility, however, the Koranas had the advantage, and this was taken largely into account by Taaibosch and the other leaders.

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* Taung means the town of Tao.

As strong a force as could be got together then marched against the Barolong. Moving cautiously forward, it surprised and overpowered several outposts, and by manœuvring skilfully managed to avoid any large opposing force except when it could do so at an advantage. Tao soon found that he had an exceedingly dangerous enemy to deal with. The Koranas could swoop down unawares upon his stations, drive off or kill his cattle, destroy his gardens and his granaries, and murder his people old and young, for they were as cruel and as regardless of human life as he was himself. And all the time they were growing stronger, for their successes attracted recruits from the south, and they were becoming possessed of quantities of iron which they regarded as their most valuable spoil and which they quickly turned to use. While the property of his people fixed them to certain places and weakened them in a military point of view, the Koranas could never be found. It was of no use sending an army against them, for their scouts always gave them ample notice, and they could drive away their cattle and retreat faster than they could be followed.

At length Taaibosch, having plundered and laid waste the Barolong outposts and the kraals of the vassal Batlapin, ventured to make his appearance at Taung itself. Several skirmishes took place, for it would not be correct to term them battles, in which sometimes one party was successful, and sometimes the other, but on the whole the balance was in favour of the Koranas. In the last of these skirmishes Tao himself received wounds from which he died soon afterwards, and the Barolong then abandoned Taung and its immense millet fields, and fled northward to a locality some hundred and sixty kilometres distant, where their mutual recriminations resulted in their breaking up into four distinct tribes, under Ratlou, Tsili, Seleka, and Rapulane, sons of the dead chief. These tribes remain distinct to the present day, but since the death of Moroko, the murder of his successor, and the annexation of the territory occupied by the Baseleka to the present Orange River Colony, only one of them—the Batsili—is of any importance.

A large number of Koranas now moved into the territory abandoned by the Barolong, and having tasted the sweets of plunder continued to carry on their devastations as before. The Scorpion clan in particular became exceedingly daring, and raided into the country of the Bakwena far to the north, where they created widespread terror and dismay. The Springboks too, under the renegade Jan Bloem, moved upward from Likhatlong, and took a very prominent part thereafter in the troubles of the country. Even a desperado like Bloem will try to justify his conduct, and he excused himself under the plea that Tao by the murder of Kunapsoop began the war, and he was therefore warranted in carrying it on. And so with his horsemen armed with firelocks he attacked, shot down, and plundered the Bakwena, who had no more to do with Tao and the Barolong than he had himself.

The whole country from the Kuruman river northward as far as the Notwane was thus in a state of confusion, alleviated only by the circumstance that whenever a Korana band had secured a herd of cattle its custom was to feast until all was spent. Then, and not before, it set out to replenish its stock of food at the cost of the first Betshuana kraal within its reach.

After a time the weakest of all the Betshuana tribes received protection from an unexpected quarter. The Batlapin after the death of Tao had recovered their independence, as the Barolong were too far away and too much divided among themselves to interfere with them or their movements any longer, but they remained in a state of poverty. Molehabangwe and his people had settled at Lithako, where they made gardens again, and now he tried to ally himself with some of the Korana clans by matrimonial connections with the families of their chiefs.

To a certain extent he succeeded, but Jan Bloem paid no respect to such arrangements, and pounced upon his cattle whenever he could get a small herd together. The law of the strong hand was the only authority recognised, as was indeed the general rule throughout barbarous Africa.

It was at this time that a member of the Kok family first visited the territory occupied by the Betshuana. Adam Kok, the founder of the family, was a man of mixed blood, who was born in the Cape Colony some time about the year 1710. He was permitted by the government to occupy a tract of land at Piketberg, where he accumulated considerable property in horned cattle and sheep, and where in 1746 his son Cornelis was born. Adam Kok moved afterwards to the Kamiesberg. He was fond of adventure and particularly of hunting, for which the vast herds of game to the north of the European settlement gave him ample means. At Kamiesberg he collected a number of Hottentots together, whose descendants afterwards asserted themselves to be of the old Grigriqua tribe, and over these the government of the day gave him power as a chief, by supplying him with one of the recognised staffs of office.

Leaving his son Cornelis at the Kamiesberg in charge of his cattle and some of his people, Adam Kok wandered about as a hunter for many years, residing temporarily at Pella in Namaqualand and at various places on the southern bank of the Orange, and on one occasion he even went as far away as to the site of the present village of Griquatown. A life like this was admirably suited to his Hottentot retainers, so that they became warmly attached to him and expert as hunters. He throve upon the spoil of the chase, and was able to procure ammunition, clothing, waggons, and such other things as he needed from Capetown, while his herds and flocks went on increasing until he became a very wealthy man. This Adam Kok lived to a great age, and was the recognised chief of a

Hottentot clan until 1795, when, owing to infirmity, he transferred his staff of office and resigned his government to his son Cornelis.

Cornelis Kok, like his father, was a famous hunter. He was in the habit of leaving his affairs at the Kamiesberg under the charge of some trustworthy person, usually a near relative, and going away with his waggons and a number of attendants for months at a time. He formed a kind of outstation on the southern bank of the Orange some distance below the great falls, where he resided occasionally and kept some of his cattle. From this station he went across the river on a hunting excursion some time between 1785 and 1790, and travelled about killing big game until he reached the Kuruman river, where he found Molehabangwe and his Batlapin in the condition that has been described. Whether Cornelis Kok acted out of pure charity or whether he had some selfish object in view it is now impossible to say, but whatever was the cause, he took Molehabangwe under his protection, remained with the Batlapin nearly two years, and effectually shielded them from Jan Bloem and his robber band. Even after he left, the Batlapin were comparatively safe, as it was believed that any wrong done to them would be avenged by him.

Jan Bloem and his allies had now their hands pretty full in the north. Makaba, the great chief of the Bangwaketse, whose name was destined to be widely known in later years, had recently risen to power by the murder of his own father. His tribe occupied the territory stretching northward from the Molopo, and his principal kraal was in a strong position not far from the site of the present town of Kanye. Makaba had a genius for war and a lust for conquest, which at a later date made him dreaded by the tribes far and near. To say that he was a cruel tyrant, whose hand lay heavy upon his people, is merely another mode of saying that he was strong enough to discipline them for their own good. He adopted a method of preventing strife in his own family by putting most of his sons to death in infancy, and he was as ruthless towards others as towards his own offspring. But under his government the Bangwaketse attained the same position that the Barolong under Tao had occupied, that of the most renowned and most feared of all the tribes in the country occupied by the Betshuana.

Makaba commenced his career by attacking the adjoining tribe on the north, the one that is now called the Bakwena, to the exclusion of all the others of the same family. His own siboko, like that of the people he was assailing, was the crocodile, but this circumstance was a matter of no consequence to him. He had gained some advantages when he learned that during his absence from home the Springbok Koranas under Jan Bloem were working mischief among his herds. He fell back at once, and then for many months a series of raids and skirmishes went on, the guns and horses of the Springboks more than compensating for their great inferiority in number. At last Makaba devised a plan which brought the matter to an end. Having fortified some parallel ranges of hills and collected large stones at places where they could be rolled down, he pretended in a skirmish to be defeated, and apparently fled in haste. The Koranas followed him, and found their passage and retreat alike blocked up. Then the stones were rolled down upon them, and many of them were crushed and killed. Jan Bloem and a few others escaped, and returned discomfited to Taung, where they had fixed their camp. Here in the last year of the century the renegade died of poison, when his son, Jan Bloem the second, who was more than half a Hottentot, became head of the Springboks in his stead.

A few of the smallest of the Korana clans still clung to the southern bank of the Orange, where they wandered about with their cattle as their fathers had done, but the greater number of the horde were scattered over the territory on the northern side of the river, particularly along the banks of the lower Vaal and the Hart. From their temporary camps they made frequent raids against Betshuana kraals, but the power of Makaba was now beginning to overshadow them as well as the Bantu in his neighbourhood, and perpetual strife among themselves prevented them from doing very much harm. Other complications, which will be related elsewhere, soon followed in this part of South Africa, and threw the acts of the Koranas completely into the shade.

The horde of Bantu termed the Abambo that crossed the Zambesi in 1570, and settled in the territory between the Umvolosi and Umkomanzi rivers before 1593, shortly after its arrival there broke up into numerous fragments, each of which became independent of the others. It must have been composed of different tribes pressed together by war before it reached the Zambesi, just as the Mantati horde two centuries and a half later was formed of many tribes previously distinct, and thus separation was easy when a place of settlement was reached. Between the Zambesi and Natal the Abambo must have acted just as the Zulus and the Matabele in the nineteenth century did, putting to death everyone that came in their way except young girls and boys whom they incorporated. One of the sections into which the Abambo divided, the one that thereafter termed itself the Amazizi, was very largely composed of Makalanga thus adopted, so much so indeed that the whole tribe was often called by its neighbours in later years the Amalanga. Its language was affected by the mixture of blood, so that the dialect of the Amazizi differed from that of the other tribes on the eastern coast. This section of the Abambo settled in the valley of the upper Tugela.

The Amahlubi, the largest fragment of the Abambo horde, took possession of the valley of the Umzinyati or Buffalo river. Their chiefs and those of the Amazizi must have been descended from the same family, for there was a dispute between them as to which was the highest in rank. This was sufficient to cause occasional quarrels and predatory raids, in which sometimes a clan of one tribe was plundered, and sometimes a clan of the other. The hereditary feud of the Amahlubi was with the tribe now called the Amaswazi, and according to tradition it arose from the Amaswazi having driven the Amahlubi from their home in the country far beyond the Zambesi. The tradition is so dim, however, that no other particulars can be learned from it. The hereditary feud of the Amazizi was with the tribe now called the Hlangweni, but nothing more can be gathered than that it was of long duration. These feuds, with others among the tribes of Zululand and Natal whose ancestors moved down from the distant north towards the close of the sixteenth century, kept the country along the lower side of the Kathlamba in such commotion that some of the weaker clans endeavoured to find another home where they could live in greater security.

North or south there was no way of migration open, but to the west there might be. The first to cross the mountains in that direction was a little band terming itself the Bamaru, that wandered from the Zululand of our day, and finally reached the country in the neighbourhood of Korokoro. They found no other people than Bushmen west of the great mountain range, and as they were few in number, and consequently weak, they fraternised with the aborigines and became wanderers themselves. These, the first Bantu to settle in any part of the present Orange River Colony or Basutoland, arrived some time before the middle of the eighteenth century. They were followed not long afterwards by some Baputi and some Amazizi, who termed themselves Amalanga, and who had a large mixture of Makalanga blood in their veins, as can be seen even in the present day in some of their descendants. These people united with the Bamaru, and as the only man of note among them was a Baputi chief, all of them received him as their ruler and thenceforth took the name Baputi. They were now strong enough to treat the Bushmen as enemies, and consequently exerted themselves to destroy the males and aged females of the wild race in their vicinity, but preserved the girls and young women to add to their own families. They occupied, or rather wandered about in, the territory between Thaba Bosigo and the upper waters of the Caledon.*

The next to cross the Kathlamba were some clans of the Amazizi who settled along its western slope south of the sources of the Vaal river. These were joined by some refugee Hlubis, who were obliged to leave the valley of the Umzinyati. Together they formed a much stronger body than the Baputi, who were their kindred, but who kept away from them and remained a distinct community. Though they came up from the tribes of the Abambo, their blood was intermixed with that of the Makalanga to such an extent that they were less robust and warlike than those they left behind. A parallel case has been seen in our own times, when the descendants of the Betshuana and Makalanga girls seized by Moselekatse and given as wives to his followers, as well as the men of those branches of the Bantu family incorporated in his armies, were found inferior in the field to those of pure Zulu blood. The Amazizi and Amahlubi refugees who settled for some distance on each side of the upper waters of the Eland's river were of similar mixed blood, and many of them in colour, features, and frame resembled Makalanga far more than pure Abambo. When united in a new tribe, they took the name Basia.

About the same time that the Basia settled along the Eland's river, or perhaps a little earlier, the Bataung, afterwards better known to Europeans as the Leghoyas, pressed by tribes of Barolong and Bakwena on the north, crossed the Vaal river just below the junction of the Vet, and in the course of a few years spread themselves over a large extent of country to the eastward. They were then numerous and wealthy in cattle. Differing little from the other branches of the Betshuana in manners and customs, they had this peculiarity that they built not only their cattle folds but the walls of their huts of stone. By the remains of these structures their wanderings can be traced from their first settlement south of the Zambesi to the present day, for no other tribe known to Europeans used this material so extensively. Yet they never dressed a block, but simply selected stones from the neighbourhood of their kraals and piled them up with mud for plaster to the required height. In some instances, where large slabs could be procured, they even roofed their huts with them, which gave perfect protection against wild animals. From the time of their crossing the Vaal to the date of the wars of Tshaka the Bataung was the largest single tribe in what is now the Orange River Colony.

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* The Putiatsana river, which flows through this territory, derives its name from them.

Sections of the Bakwena also crossed the Vaal and settled south of that river. Of these, the first to move over was the Baramokhele or Bamokoteri. It was small and of little importance at the time, but as Moshesh, the founder of the present Basuto tribe, was a member of the family of its chiefs, it deserves particular attention. It crossed the Vaal river some distance above the junction of the Vet, passed through the territory occupied by the Bataung, and settled along the Tlotsi, a little stream that flows westward into the upper Caledon. The date must have been about 1750 or a little later. Mokatshane, the father of Moshesh, was born there after the arrival of the tribe, and in 1840 he was believed to be nearly seventy years of age. The reverend Mr. Casalis, writing in 1861, states that there was undoubted proof that the Basuto had for at least five generations possessed the territory on which the French missionaries found them in 1833. That was perfectly correct as regards the first to arrive, and Mr. Casalis might have added that with his own eyes he had seen those five generations. Dibe, Mokatshane's elder brother, a convert to Christianity, who died on the 4th of December 1847, belonged to the first. There were grandchildren of his grandchildren living in 1861.

The Makhoakhoa, who to the present day remain distinct, though now for three quarters of a century under the government for general purposes of the family of Moshesh, according to their own account were the next to arrive. They followed the same road, and settled not far to the north of the Bamokoteri. The date cannot be fixed, nor is the order of the arrival of the different little tribes or separate communities quite certain. The most that can be said is that in all probability none of the Bakwena reached the Caledon before 1750.

The next that moved southward over the Vaal appear to have been the Bamonaheng, who were more numerous and more important than any of the others. A chief of this tribe, Motlomi by name, became to some extent paramount over them all, and he appears to have been for a barbarian an exceedingly able man. The date of the arrival of the Bamonaheng in the neighbourhood of the Caledon is uncertain, and may have been in any year between 1760 and 1785. It settled at Umpukani.

A large division of the Bafokeng arrived about the same time as the Bamonaheng, or perhaps a little earlier. They were under a chief named Kolukwane, who settled near Butabute. This clan became notorious in the next generation as the one most addicted to cannibalism in the whole country. This was after the defeat of Engabi, son of Kolukwane, by the Hlubis under Umpangazita, when the Bafokeng lost all their property and many of their people. They were never of much importance.

The Mayiana and the Batlakoana followed, and settled in different parts of the northern districts of the territory now termed Basutoland or the Lesuto. A clan of the Bakatla, the people of the monkey, also moved over the Vaal, and joined the Bamonaheng at Futane. Some of these did not arrive on the Caledon until after the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it will simplify the narrative to mention them here. In the terrible wars of a little later date these tribes were nearly exterminated, and their remnants in many instances resorted to cannibalism until Moshesh collected them together and gave them seed that they might cultivate gardens again.

At the close of the eighteenth century sections of the Bakwena were found almost as far south as Thaba Bosigo, and farther in advance were the Baputi, who had retired as the others came down. The first undertaking of these immigrants was to clear off the aborigines, in order that they might keep cattle, and as soon as the Bushmen were reduced in number they began to plunder each other and the Leghoyas who had settled before them a little farther north. They made gardens, and bred cattle, and lived just as they had done before crossing the Vaal.

A tribe that afterwards attained great notoriety came down from the Magalisberg and settled along the Mill river, adjoining the land occupied by the Basia, about the time of the earliest Bakwena migration to the Caledon. This tribe called itself the Batlokwa, and its siboko was the wild cat. The graves of five of its chiefs could be pointed out along the Mill river in 1840. At the close of the eighteenth century it was under a chief named Mokotsho, and was closely allied with the Basia, but had a feud with the Bataung or Leghoyas.

Another small tribe that came down from the distant north at this time and settled on the banks of the Sand river some twenty miles or thirty-two kilometres below its source was called the Bamorara. Its earlier siboko was the rietbok, but to this it now added the wild vine in honour of its chief Morara, that being the meaning of his name. Of the history of this tribe before it crossed the Vaal nothing can now be ascertained, and there is some mystery connected with it. Its language was that of the Bakwena, but its blood, even more than that of the Basia, was Makalanga. This was shown by the features of its people, and particularly by their colour, which was a chocolate brown. The Bamorara were destined in later years to play a prominent part in South African affairs, and should therefore be regarded with attention. In 1821 their chief was Patsa, and on that account they were usually called by their neighbours the Bapatsa. They were attacked by the Hlubi invaders of the country, when Patsa was killed in battle, and many of them perished. Patsa's great son was shortly afterwards slain and eaten by a lion. One of his minor brothers, Sebetoane by name, with most of the remaining people of the tribe then fled with the Mantati horde, and ultimately made his way to the Zambesi as chief of the powerful Makololo, in which new community his original followers held aristocratic rank. Those who remained behind, after undergoing almost incredible suffering, were finally incorporated by Moshesh in the Basuto tribe.

The north-eastern part of the present Orange River Colony, the northern part of the Lesuto of the present day, and even a tract of land along the banks of the Vet river had thus become occupied by Bantu at the commencement of the nineteenth century. Korana bands might occasionally have been seen on the left bank of the lower Vaal, but the aboriginal Bushmen were still in occupation of the whole of the remaining part of the great plain stretching away from that river to the Stormberg and the Kathlamba.

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPE COLONY AND OF THE NETHERLANDS AND ON PRINTED BOOKS RELATING TO SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE PERIOD 1505 TO 1795.

Records of South-Eastern Africa, nine demi octavo volumes, each of over five hundred pages, published in London from 1898 to 1903. These may be seen in the great libraries of Europe and Canada, as well as in South Africa. They contain a large number of Portuguese records copied from the originals, extracts from old Portuguese histories, the whole of the African portion of the *Ethiopia Oriental* of Dos Santos, and much more, together with English translations of them all, and a number of documents and extracts from ancient books in French, Dutch, and English, with a copious index of the whole. These volumes had their origin in the following manner:

The right honourable Cecil John Rhodes was prime minister of the Cape Colony, and as such secretary for native affairs. I was chief clerk in the native affairs department, a portion of my duty consisting in preparing documents, condensing masses of correspondence, &c., &c., for the use of my head. One morning he asked me if I knew anything about Francisco Barreto's expedition into South Africa. I told him all that I knew of it, which was very little more than the short account given by De Couto. After a few questions on other subjects, he said I could be much more usefully employed in collecting information upon the past than in doing mere routine work in the office, and at once he issued instructions that I was to be detached for special duty. He asked me to go out to Groot Schuur that afternoon, when he would tell me what he wanted and would show me some books he had just received from England.

That afternoon I went to Groot Schuur, when Mr. Rhodes told me he wanted me first to get out a history of South Africa in Dutch, as he had promised some members of parliament to have that done. Next he wanted me to collect all the information that could be got upon Francisco Barreto's expedition, and lastly I was to try to find out something about the early movements of the Bantu tribes. I said that would take me to Europe, possibly to

Cairo, and probably to Goa and East Africa. He merely replied, well, there are plenty of steamers. Further instructions I had none. I asked him for them some days later, when he said "do the work, and do it as well as it can be done, that is all."

Before I could leave South Africa Sir Gordon Sprigg succeeded Mr. Rhodes as prime minister of the Cape Colony. He desired me to carry out the instructions I had received, and as I began to be afraid that I might not find anything, in which case people might say I was doing nothing for my salary, at my request he gave me the copying and publication of the early English colonial records in London. This then was the work that I relied upon to show that I was doing something, but the other was the real object of my mission to Europe.

I was more fortunate than I anticipated in finding Portuguese documents upon South Africa in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. I collected, translated, and published eight of the volumes here mentioned, which give a very clear insight into the doings of the Portuguese in South Africa, and then I proposed to Sir Gordon Sprigg that I should leave that work—though there might still be many papers of importance not collected—and devote all my energy to the period beyond. My object was to carry out Mr. Rhodes' instructions as to the early movements of the Bantu, and I intended, should I live long enough, to take up the Portuguese work again when that was done and publish supplementary volumes. I recognise now that it would have been better had I acted otherwise. There is at least one series of valuable Portuguese documents known to me still unpublished, and in all probability there are others in places I have not visited. I mention this because I do not wish it to be supposed that I put forward these nine volumes of *Records of South-Eastern Africa* as a complete and finished work. Sir Gordon Sprigg consented to my proposal, leaving the matter, as he said, entirely to my discretion.

Before this it had been arranged that if I got out yearly not less than three of the English volumes nor more than four, the government would be satisfied, so I finished the ninth of the Portuguese volumes, which contains a very complete index of the whole, and set to work literally night and day to get a great quantity of English records ready for the printer. In this I was assisted by a member of my family, who worked gratuitously, and by the middle of 1904 there was sufficient for over sixteen volumes in readiness. I was looking eagerly forward to leaving London to pursue research, believing that I could do so for three or four years and still supply the required number of volumes, when suddenly it was intimated to me that the new ministry had decided that the copy in hand should be printed with the utmost expedition, that I was then to retire, and the work was to cease. On my representation that the English records to the end of 1827 should be published to make that series complete, I was permitted to finish that work, but the time allowed me to see the copy through the press was so short that no man, however industrious, could have accomplished it. I proposed then to retire at once with the pension to which I was entitled, if I were allowed to draw it in England, and to finish my work in a proper manner. This proposal was not agreed to, though it would have saved several hundreds of pounds to the colonial treasury, then in a position of difficulty. In less than twenty months I was compelled to see eighteen thick volumes through the press and to index them closely, a record, I imagine, in work of this kind; and I was then obliged to return to South Africa with the object of my mission uncompleted. I ask those who may be inclined to blame me for not fulfilling the intentions of Mr. Rhodes to consider the impossibility of my doing more than I did, and to believe that it was with the deepest regret that I was obliged to abandon the work he gave me to do.

The reverened Dr. Flint, librarian of the houses of parliament, has been good enough to call my attention to an error in the above work. It occurs in the index on page 530, volume ix, seventh line from the top. The words "master of the *Nereid*" should be deleted, and "Wesleyan clergyman" substituted.

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the South and South-east parts of the World, by Richard Hakluyt, preacher, two quarto volumes, London, 1599; and *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, five large volumes, London, 1625. Hakluyt's work was the means of his obtaining the curatorship of the historical and geographical documents of the English East India Company. After his death these papers were entrusted to Purchas, by whom many of them were condensed and published in his work above named. The original manuscripts have perished. The dates are according to the old style.

Eerste Schipvaert der Hollanders naer Oost Indien, met vier Schepen onder 't beleydt van Cornelis Houtman, uyt Texel ghegaen, Anno 1595. Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie*, printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous subsequent editions. The original journals kept in the different ships of this fleet are still in existence, from which it is seen that the printed work is only a compendium. At the Hague I made verbatim copies for the Cape government of those portions of the original manuscripts referring to South Africa, and I found that one or two curious errors had been made by the compiler of the printed journal. As an instance, the midshipman Frank van der Does, in the ship *Hollandia*, when describing the Hottentots states: "Haer haer opt hooft stadt oft affgeschroijt waer vande zonne, ende sien daer wyt eenich gelyck een dieff die door het langhe hanghen verdroocht is." This is given in the printed journal: "Het hayr op hare hoofden is als 't hayr van een mensche die een tijdt langh ghehanghen heeft," an alteration which turns a graphic sentence into nonsense.

Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provincien derwaerts gedaen. In two thick volumes. Printed in 1646. This work contains the journals in a condensed form of the fleets under Cornelis Houtman, Pieter Both, Joris van Spilbergen, and others, as also the first charter of the East India Company.

Journael van de Voyagie gedaen met drie Schepen, genaemt den Ram, Schaep, ende het Lam, gevaren uyt Zeelandt, van der Stadt Camp-Vere, naer d' Oost Indien, onder 't beleyt van den Heer Admirael Joris van Spilbergen, gedaen in de jaren 1601, 1602, 1603, *en* 1604. Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie*, printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous editions thereafter. An account of the naming of Table Bay is to be found in this work.

Loffelycke Voyagie op Oost Indien met 8 *Scheepen uyt Tessel gevaren in 't Jaer* 1606 *onder het beleyt van den Admirael Paulus van Caerden, haer wech genomen hebbende tusschen Madagascar ende Abissina deur.* A pamphlet of forty-eight pages, published at Amsterdam in 1646.

Beschrijvinghe van de tweede Voyagie ghedaen met 12 *Schepen naer d' Oost Indien onder den Heer Admirael Steven van der Hagen, waer inne verhaelt wert het veroveren der Portugeser Forten op Amboyna ende Tydor.* A pamphlet of ninety-one pages, printed at Amsterdam in 1616.

de Jonge, J. K. J.: *De Opkomst van het Nederlansch Gezag in Oost Indie. Verzameling van onuitgegeven Stukken uit het oudkoloniaal Archief. Uitgegeven en bewerkt door Jhr. Mr. J. K. J. de Jonge.* The Hague and Amsterdam. The first part of this valuable history was published in 1862, the second part in 1864, and the third part in 1865. These three volumes embrace the general history of Dutch intercourse with the East Indies from 1595 to 1610. They contain accounts of the several early trading associations, of the voyages and successes of the fleets sent out, of the events which led to the establishment by the states-general of the great Chartered East India Company, and of the progress of the Company until the appointment of Peter Both as first governor-general. Rather more than half of the work is composed of copies of original documents of interest. The fourth part, published in 1869, is devoted to Java, and with it a particular account of the eastern possessions is commenced. The history was carried on as far as the tenth volume, which was published in 1878, but the work was unfinished at the time of the author's death in 1880.

Botelho, Sebastião Xavier: *Memoria Estatistica sobre os Dominios Portuguezes na Africa Oriental.* A crown octavo volume of four hundred pages, published at Lisbon in 1835. The author of this book was governor and captain general of Mozambique from the 20th of January 1825 to the 21st of August 1829, and therefore one might reasonably expect something authoritative from his pen. But the historical and geographical inaccuracies are so numerous as to prove that his power of observation was small and his capacity for research still less. The book is of very little value. The only chapter in it from which I derived any information at all that I could depend upon is the one containing an account of the prazos of Tete and Sena.

Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas na Africa Occidental e Oriental, na Asia Occidental, na China, e na Oceania, escriptos de ordem do Governo de sua Magestade Fidelissima a Senhora Dona Maria, II, por José Joaquim Lopes de Lima e Francisco Maria Bordalo. Three volumes were written before Senhor de Lima's death, and were published at Lisbon, 1844 to 1846, but he did not reach as far as Eastern Africa. The work was then entrusted to Senhor Bordalo, who completed it in three more volumes. The first of Bordalo's volumes was published at Lisbon in 1859, and is devoted entirely to Eastern Africa. It has been most carefully written, and as its materials were drawn from original documents in the public records and from other trustworthy sources, it is thoroughly reliable. The author treated his subject in a judicial manner, though, as a patriotic Portuguese, he was unable to detect the true causes of his country's want of success in Eastern Africa. No English writer could deal more severely than he with the general corruption of the seventeenth century, or with the decline and fall of missionary enterprise.

Indice Chronologico das Navegações, Viagens, Descobrimentos, e Conquistas dos Portuguezes nos Paizes Ultramarinos desde o Principio do Seculo XV. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and eighty-three pages, published at Lisbon in 1841. This little volume is of considerable value to one making researches.

Wadstrom, C. B.: *An Essay on Colonization, also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies already formed, or attempted, in Africa.* A quarto volume of five hundred and sixty-one pages, published at

London in 1794. The author of this valuable work was a man who spared no time or labour in making the researches necessary for his purpose, though of course he had no access to official documents. To me the volume has been of considerable service, as it has enabled me to add many particulars to the account given in earlier editions of the attempted Austrian occupation of Delagoa Bay in 1776-1781.

The Lands of Cazembe. Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798, translated and annotated by Captain R. F. Burton, F. R. G. S. Also Journey of the Pombeiros P. J. Baptista and Amaro José across Africa from Angola to Tette on the Zambeze, translated by P. A. Beadle; and a résumé of the Journey of MM. Monteiro and Gamitto, by Dr. C. T. Beke. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and seventy-one pages, published by the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1873.

Journal of a Voyage performed in the Lion extra Indiaman, from Madras to Columbo, and Da Lagoa Bay, on the eastern coast of Africa (where the ship was condemned) in the year 1798. With some account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Da Lagoa Bay, and a Vocabulary of the Language. By William White, Esq., Captain in the 73rd Highland Regiment of Foot. A quarto pamphlet of seventy pages, published at London in 1800.

The documents in the archives of the Cape Colony and of the Netherlands made use of by me in the preparation of volumes ii and iii may be classified as follows:

I. Proceedings and resolutions of the council of policy from 1652 to 1795. With the exception of one volume containing the records from May to July 1793, these important documents are complete.

II. The Cape journal. A diary, in which records of all events of importance were entered, was commenced by Mr. Van Riebeek when he embarked at Amsterdam, and was continued with only a break of an occasional day until 1803. The occurrences of each year originally formed a volume of three or four hundred pages of foolscap. By some means between 1806 and 1830 a large proportion of these volumes disappeared from the Cape archives. Fortunately, there were duplicates of most of them in the archives of the Netherlands, of which copies have been procured by the Cape government. The journal is now complete to 1788, except for the years 1675, 1688, and 1691. From 1788 to 1795 it is missing, except for 1794.

III. Despatches from the Cape government to the directors and several chambers of the East India Company, to the governor-general and council of India, to the government of Ceylon, and letters to various officers in the service, foreigners calling here, and others. The volumes of this series after 1786 have been lost from the Cape archives, and some of those of an earlier date are not complete.

IV. Despatches received by the Cape government from the authorities in the Netherlands and in India, and letters received from various persons. These are not quite complete in the Cape archives.

V. Journals of exploring parties. Copies of the following are in the Cape archives:—Journals kept by Jan Blanx, from 25th September to 3rd October 1652. Kept by Skipper Turver, from 21st October to 14th November 1652. Kept by Frederick Verburg, from 21st October to 14th November 1652, and from 2nd December 1652 to 16th January 1653. Kept by Corporal Willem Muller, from 7th September to 5th October 1655. Kept by Abraham Gabbema, from 19th October to 5th November 1657. Of the exploring expedition under Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, from 27th February to 21st March 1658. Of the expedition under Jan Danckert in search of Monomotapa, from 12th November 1660 to 20th January 1661. Of the expedition under Pieter Cruythof to the Namaquas, from 30th January to 11th March 1661. Of the expedition under Pieter van Meerhof, from 21st March to 23rd April 1661. Of the expedition under Pieter Everaert, from 14th November 1661 to 13th February 1662. Of Ensign Cruse's expedition against Gonnema, from 12th to 25th July 1673. Of the expedition under Commander Van der Stel to Namaqualand, from 25th August 1685 to 26th January 1686. Kept on board the *Centaurus*, from 10th November 1687 to 19th February 1688. Kept on board the galiot *Noord*, from 19th October 1688 to 6th February 1689. Of the expedition under Ensign Schryver to the Inqua Hottentots, from 4th January to 6th April 1689. And of others in the eighteenth century, of which special mention is made in the body of this work.

VI. Instructions. These are papers of considerable historical value. There are in the Cape archives: Instructions of the chamber of Amsterdam for the heads of the party proceeding in the service of the Netherlands chartered East India Company to the Cape of Good Hope, 25th March 1651. Further instructions of the same for the same, 12th December 1651. Of the directors for the guidance of the return fleet, 20th August 1652. Of Mr. Van Riebeek for the officers of the yacht *Goede Hoop*, 14th October and 22nd November 1652 and 21st January 1653; for the officers of the galiot *Zwarte Vos*, 3rd February, 13th May, and 9th June 1653; for the officers of the galiot *Roode Vos*, 26th July, 4th August, 3rd and 13th October, and —— December 1653, and 21st February and 6th April 1654; for the officers of the galiot *Tulp*, 26th June 1654. Of the commissioner Ryklof van Goens for the commander and council of the fort Good Hope, 16th April 1657. Of the commissioner

Joan Cuneus for Commander Van Riebeek, 18th March 1658. Of the commissioner Pieter Sterthemius for Commander Van Riebeek, 12th March 1660. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the exploring party under Jan Danckert, 10th November 1660. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the exploring party under Pieter Cruythof, 29th January 1661. Of the commissioner Andries Frisius for Commander Van Riebeek, 11th March 1661. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the expedition under Pieter van Meerhof, 21st March 1661. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the expedition under Pieter Everaert, 10th November 1661. Of the commissioner Hubert de Lairesse for Commander Wagenaar, 22nd and 27th September 1662. Of Commander Wagenaar for the exploring expedition under Corporal Pieter Cruythof, 19th October 1662. Of the commissioner Herman Klencke for Commander Wagenaar, 16th April 1663. Of the assembly of seventeen for the party proceeding to Madagascar, with addenda by Commander Wagenaar, 26th May 1663. Of the commissioner P. A. Overtwater for Commander Wagenaar, 7th September 1663. Of Commander Wagenaar for the exploring expedition under Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, 10th October 1663. Of Commander Wagenaar for the assistant Joachim Blank, head of the Madagascar party, 19th May 1664. Of Commander Wagenaar for the assistant Jacobus van Nieuwland, head of the Mauritius party, — May 1664. Of the commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck for Commander Jacob Borghorst and his successor Pieter Hackius, 14th March 1670. Of the commissioner Isbrand Goske for Commander Hackius, 23rd February 1671. Of the commissioner Nicolaas Verburg for Governor Bax, 15th March 1676. Of the commissioner Sybrand Abbema for Commander Simon van der Stel, 27th March 1680. Of the commissioner Ryklof van Goens the younger for Commander Simon van der Stel and the council, 20th March 1681. Of the retired governor-general Ryklof van Goens the elder for Commander Simon van der Stel and the council, 24th April 1682. Of the high commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede for the commander and council, 16th July 1685. And others of a later date, which are referred to in the body of this work.

VII. Reports to the directors. From the commissioner Ryklof van Goens, 16th April 1657. From the commissioner Andries Frisius, 4th July 1661. From the commissioner Hubert de Lairesse, 22nd September 1662. From the commissioner Joan Thyssen, 25th June 1669. From the commissioner Ryklof van Goens the younger, March and April 1685. From the high commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, 14th May 1685.

VIII. Proclamations, placaats, and notices issued by the Cape government. The first volume of the original record of these in the Cape archives is slightly damaged, but nothing of any consequence seems to be missing. The other volumes are perfect.

IX. Transactions of the commissioners-general Nederburgh and Frykenius at the Cape. These volumes are of great historical value. They contain also, as annexures, many important papers.

X. Burgher rolls or census returns. Every year a list was framed, giving the names of the burghers and their wives, the number of their children, slaves, guns, horses, oxen, sheep, vines, morgen of cultivated ground, etc. Such of the returns before 1795 as are not in the Cape archives I examined in the archives of the Netherlands, but there is not one that can be relied upon as accurate.

XI. Resolutions of the assembly of seventeen, the chamber of Amsterdam, the states-provincial of Holland and West Friesland, and other governing bodies, referring to the Cape in early times. The originals are to be seen only in the archives of the Netherlands, but while at the Hague I made copies for the Cape government of such of them as are of any importance.

XII. Declarations concerning crime, and records of the high court of justice. I have examined only the volumes of these papers which contain particulars concerning important cases. It would require a lifetime to read them all.

XIII. District records, which comprise proceedings of the boards of landdrosts and heemraden at the various seats of magistracy and correspondence between the government and officials in the country. I have examined these documents carefully in cases when noteworthy events were transpiring, and have otherwise glanced through them, but have not actually read them all.

XIV. Miscellaneous documents during the period 1652 to 1795. Under this heading there is an enormous mass of manuscript at the Cape and at the Hague, among which there are a few papers of considerable value. Such are the following:—(1) Statement, dated at Amsterdam 26th July 1649, in which is briefly shown what service, advantages, and profit the United Netherlands chartered East India Company might derive from building a fort and making a garden at the Cape of Good Hope. (2) Further considerations upon certain points in the statement submitted by Mr. Leendert Janssen, concerning the project of constructing a fort and planting a garden at the Cape of Good Hope, Amsterdam, June 1651. (3) Extract of a letter from the chamber of Middelburgh to the chamber of Amsterdam, 5th December 1651. (4) Statement of the condition of affairs at the Cape, drawn up by Mr. Van Riebeek for the use of his successor, 5th May 1662. (5) Queries concerning Cape affairs by the commissioner Hubert de Lairesse, and replies of Commander Wagenaar, 15th September 1662. (6) Statement of the condition of affairs at the Cape, drawn up by Mr. Wagenaar for the use of his successor, 24th September 1666. (7) Memorandum for the use of Governor Bax, drawn up by the retiring governor Isbrand Goske, March 1676. The greater number of the miscellaneous documents in the Cape archives are, however, of little or no value for historical purposes. There are sailing directions, directions for signalling, ships' log books, etc., etc.

XV. In the surveyor-general's office are records of land grants, and in the registry of deeds are records of all transfers of ground and mortgages since 1685. In the archives of the Netherlands there are full details of the East India Company's accounts with the Cape, embracing salaries, expenses of all kinds, sales of goods, etc., etc. I have only glanced through these papers for the purpose of selecting such as are of most importance. A single lifetime is too short to read all the manuscript that is referred to in this and the preceding three paragraphs.

In the archives of the Netherlands there are over fifty unpublished charts referring to South Africa, but many of them are of little or no value. I copied the following on tracing linen for the Cape government :—

One of the fort and garden in Table Valley in 1654.

One of the fort and garden in Table Valley in 1656.

One of the route of the exploring parties of 1661.

One of the castle, garden, and town in Table Valley in 1693.

An elaborate chart of the journey of Commander Simon van der Stel to the copper mines of Namaqualand in 1685, being the first map upon which any indication of the Orange river appears.

I also examined carefully the maps and atlases of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in the libraries of the British museum and of the university of Leiden. In the collection of atlases in the South African public library the following works, purchased by me at the Hague, are to be seen :—

Ortelius, Abraham: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* This work, so celebrated in its day, is in one great volume. It contains a large map of Africa, engraved at Antwerp in 1570.

Mercator, Gerard, et Hondius, Jodocus: *Atlas, sive Cosmographicæ Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura.* The fourth edition, published at Amsterdam in 1619, contains two maps of Africa, both full-sized, or covering a double page. One is taken from Gerard Mercator's map and description of the world, and is the work of his son; the other is by Jodocus Hondius himself.

Hondius, Henry: *Atlas ou Representation du Monde Universel.* This is an edition of the last-named work, improved by means of the discoveries made in the interval. Though the title is French, the work is in Dutch, and was published at Amsterdam in 1633 by a son of the celebrated Jodocus Hondius. It contains one large map of Africa, drawn by Henry Hondius, and engraved in 1631.

Doncker, Hendrick: *Zee Atlas of Water Wœrelt,* published at Amsterdam in 1666. This volume contains a chart of the west coast of Africa from the equator to the Cape of Good Hope, engraved in

1659; and one of the east coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red sea, engraved in 1660.

Blaeu, Joan: *Grooten Atlas, oft Werelt Beschryving.* This was the standard atlas of its day, and is still of the greatest value as an unerring guide to the knowledge possessed by the most eminent geographers in the middle of the seventeenth century. Seven enormous volumes and part of the eighth are devoted to Europe; Africa and America are described in the remainder of the eighth; and the ninth is given to Asia. Among the African maps is one of that portion of the continent south of the tenth parallel of latitude, engraved in 1665. A copy, reduced in size, appears in the second volume of this history.

Goos, Pieter: *Zee Atlas ofte Water Wereld.* After the great atlas of Blaeu, it would be unnecessary to mention any other, if it were not for the estimation in which the marine charts of Goos as well as of Doncker were held in their day. This volume, splendidly engraved, ornamented, and printed in colours, was issued at Amsterdam in 1668. It contains a large chart of the coast from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope; another from Cape Negro to Mossel Bay, with cartoons of the coast and country from St. Helena Bay to Cape False, and Vlees Bay or Agoa de S. Bras; and a large chart of the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the head of the Red sea.

The manuscript records preserved in Capetown, the Hague, and London, are the only authentic sources from which the history of the Dutch settlement in South Africa can be extracted, and as such they have been used by me. But I found it necessary also to know how events, as they transpired, appeared to visitors. For this purpose I consulted the following printed books:

Hondius, Jodocus (publisher—author's name not given): *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het Land aan Cabo de Bona Esperance.* A little work published at Amsterdam in 1652. This book professes to be a description of the country about the Cape of Good Hope, and was published by Jodocus Hondius,* maker of land and sea charts, whose name is a guarantee that all possible care was taken in the preparation of the work. The numerous authorities referred to in this early South African handbook prove further that the compiler was not only well read, but that he spared no trouble to collect oral information from the officers of ships. And yet he knew absolutely nothing of any part of the country now comprised in the Cape Colony except the sea coast from St. Helena Bay to Mossel Bay, and even that very imperfectly. Elizabeth and Cornelia or Dassen and Robben Islands he describes accurately, but of Saldanha Bay he could give no other information than the name and position. Table Bay and the country a few miles around he could delineate with precision, as he had information from persons who had been shipwrecked and had lived here many months. That there was such a river as the Camissa he had no doubt, but he believed it to be an open question if it did not enter the sea much farther eastward than Linschoten had placed its mouth. To the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the Cape he gives both the names Hottentots and Caffres, and says they were called Hottentots on account of their manner of speaking, Caffres from their being held to have no religion. Their personal appearance, filthy habits, manner of subsistence, clothing, weapons, and huts are fairly described, but the writer had no idea that they were a distinct race from those living on the eastern coast. He thought it probable, indeed, that they were degraded offshoots from the empire of Monomotapa. This was the extent of the knowledge of South Africa, beyond the parts frequented by the Portuguese, possessed by Europeans a century and a half after the discovery of the sea route to India.

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* Grandson of the world-renowned map-maker of the same name.

Nieuhof, Joan: *Zee en Lant-Reize, door verscheidene Gewesten van Oost Indien, behelzende veele zeltzaame en wonderlijke voorvallen en geschiedenissen. Beneffens een beschrijving van lantschappen, steden, dieren, gewassen, draghten, zeden en godsdienst der inwoonders: en inzonderheid een wijtloopig verhaal der Stad Batavia. Verciert doorgaens met verscheide Koopere Platen.* A beautiful folio volume of three hundred and sixteen pages, published at Amsterdam in 1682. Twelve pages and a half are devoted to the Cape settlement. An English translation of this work, condensed and connected with an account of earlier journeys in Brazil by the same author, is to be found in the second volume of *Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, of which the third edition was issued in London in 1744. In this edition Nieuhof's work occupies three hundred and five pages, and is profusely illustrated. The author was at the Cape in 1653, 1659, 1671, and 1672. In the year last named he was murdered at a little island off Madagascar. His manuscript, however, was in his brother's possession, who caused it to be published. In an account of his first visit in 1653 seven pages are devoted to the Cape, but events which he observed in later years are also described as if they occurred at this time, and his subsequent calls are very briefly mentioned. He gives no information which cannot be obtained from the manuscript official records. A curious map of the Cape peninsula, showing the course of the canal from Table Bay to False Bay proposed by Mr. Van Goens, is inserted in this work; and there is also a picture of the first fort in Table Valley, with the mountains around.

Saar, Johan Jacobsz: *Reisbeschryving naer Oost Indien.* Translated from the original German, and published at Amsterdam in 1672. The author, a native of Nuremberg, was in the service of the East India Company from 1644 to 1660. When returning to Europe with the homeward bound fleet of the last-named year, he visited Table Bay. In a pamphlet of eighty-eight pages he has given four to the Cape, but there is nothing of very much interest in them except an account of the conspiracy to seize the *Erasmus*, and this is more completely recorded in manuscripts in the Cape archives.

Schouten, Wouter: *Reys Togten naar en door Oost Indien.* The second edition was published at Amsterdam in 1708; the fourth, large quarto with plates, in 1780. The author, who was in the service of the East India Company, called at the Cape on his outward passage in 1658. Of this visit he gives a short but interesting account. When returning home in 1665 he was here six weeks. He devotes a chapter to the observations which he made at this time, in which he describes the colonists and the coloured inhabitants, as well as the condition of the settlement. The book is well written, and the chapter upon the Cape is not the least valuable portion of it, though it contains no information which is not also to be gathered in a more perfect form from the official records of the period.

Evertsen, Volkert: *Beschrijving der Reizen naer Oost Indien van.* Translated from the original German, and published at Amsterdam in 1670. The author was a German, who entered the service of the East India Company in 1655 and proceeded as a midshipman to Batavia. In the outward passage, and again when returning to Europe in 1667, he called at the Cape. On the last occasion he remained here a month. His work is a pamphlet of forty pages only, but his account of the condition of the infant colony, though very short, is highly interesting.

van Overbeke, Aernout: *Rym Werken.* The copy in my possession is of the tenth edition, published at Amsterdam in 1719. The seventh edition was issued in 1699. The author was the same officer who first purchased territory from Hottentot chiefs in South Africa. Some of the verses are written with spirit, but there is nothing in the book to give it an enduring place among the works of the Dutch poets. The volume contains also in prose a *Geestige en vermakelijke Reys Beschrijving van Mr. Aernout van Overbeke, naar Oost Indien uytgevaren voor Raet van Justitie, in den jare* 1668. This is a comic description of a sea voyage, and would be quite useless for historical purposes, if it were not for the mention that is made of Commander Van Quaelberg. The character of that commander is delineated therein identically the same as I found it to be from his writings. Mr. Van Overbeke adds that even the Hottentots regarded him with aversion.

Dapper, Dr. O.: *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, etc.* Amsterdam, 1668. This is a splendidly printed and illustrated volume of eight hundred and fifty large pages, and contains a great number of maps and plans. It was carefully compiled from the best sources of information. As far as the Cape settlement is concerned, Dapper states that his descriptions are principally from documents forwarded to him by a certain diligent observer in South Africa, to which he has added but little from books of travel. The twenty-nine pages which are devoted to this country and its people were prepared by some one who was not here at the commencement of the occupation, who had not access to official papers, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was studying the customs, manners, and language of the Hottentots. Such a man was George Frederick Wreede, who was probably the writer. The order of events is not given exactly in accordance with official documents, though there is generally an agreement between them.

Ogilby, John: *Africa, being an Accurate Description of, etc., Collected and translated from most Authentick Authors.* London, 1670. All the information of value in this large volume is obtained from Dapper, to whom the compiler acknowledges his indebtedness. It is, indeed, almost a literal translation of Dapper's work, and contains most of his maps and plates. An extract will show how little was then known in England of the people we call Kaffirs:— "The Cabona's are a very black People, with Hair that hangs down their Backs to the Ground. These are such inhumane Cannibals, that if they can get any Men, they broyl them alive, and eat them up. They have some Cattel, and plant Calbasses, with which they sustain themselves. They have, by report of the Hottentots, rare Portraitures, which they find in the Mountains, and other Rarities: But by reason of their distance and barbarous qualities, the Whites have never had any converse with them."

Struys, J. J.: *Drie aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige Reysen door Italien, Griekenlandt, Lijflandt, Moscovien, Tartarijen, Meden, Persien, Oost Indien, Japan, en verscheyden andere Gewesten.* A small quarto volume of three hundred and seventy-seven pages, dedicated to the celebrated Nicolaas Witsen, and published at Amsterdam in 1676. In April 1673 Struys called at Table Bay in the Dutch Indiaman *Europa* on her homeward passage. He says nothing whatever of the Cape, but gives the following account of the capture of the *Europa* by Commodore Munden's fleet at St. Helena, when he and all on board were made prisoners of war:— "Wy vertoefden tot den 1 May (1673) aan de Caap, als wanneer wy door bevel van den Heer Gouverneur

Ysbrand Godskens met ons Schip *Europa* gelast wierden na het Eylandt St. Helena te gaan, zijnde het selve door hem op den 13 Januarius jongst-leden met omtrent 300 Mannen de Engelschen afgenomen. De andere Schepen souden ons over 7 of 8 dagen volgen, en van daar gesamentlijk na 't Vaderlant gaan. Aldus gingen wy ter gemelder tijdt met een frissche koelte onder zeyl, voerende op ons Schip mede den kapiteyn Bredenbach, om op St. Helena voor Gouverneur te leggen. Wy setten onsen loop Noordwest aan, en quamen op Pincxster dagh, den 21 May, voor St. Helena. Maar nauwlijks om den hoek zijnde, sagen wy wel haast dat de kaart vergeven was, leggende aldaar 7 groote Engelsche Oorloghs-Schepen voór Gaats, nevens een Brander, en 3 koop-Vaarders. De Engelschen ons binnen schoots hebbende, heeten ons terstont met haar onder- en boven-lagen welkom, en planten ons soodanigh den Pincxter bloem dat wij in 't korte Schip en Goed daar voor quijt wierden, niet sonder eenige dooden en gequetsten. Wy hadden niet meer als 60 Eters op, en kosten niet meer als 5 of 6 Stukken roeren. Wy aldus in groote benautheyt zijnde, en met ons Geschut weynig konnende uytrechten, besloten kloekmoedigh het Engelsch Fregat, *de Assistentie*, dat 50 Stukken voerde, en ons met sijn Brander volgde, aan Boort te klampen, en soo drijvende te enteren. Hier op gaf onsen Schipper last alle de Luyken toe te spijkeren, op dat sich niemant soude verschuylen, en aldus gesamender-hant op den Engelsman over te springen; doch tot ons groot ongeluk konden wy niet half soo veel Geweer by der handt krijgen als wy van nooden hadden. Aldus wierden wy gedwongen ons Schip, Volk, en Goed over te geven, alsoo den Engelsman het ons uyt sijn 12 en 18 ponders met koegels, kneppels, en Schroot soo bang maakte dat wy niet langer duuren kosten; sonder dat wy hem met ons swak Scheeps-volk en weynigh Geschut eenige voorname schade konden toebrengen." Struys also gives an account of the subsequent capture of two Dutch Indiamen by Commodore Munden's fleet.

ten Rhyne, Wilhelm: *Schediasma de Promontorio Bonæ Spei, etc.* Schaffhausen, 1686. This little volume of seventy-six pages in the Latin language is the work of a medical man in the service of the East India Company, who visited the Cape in 1673. It consists of a geographical description of the country in the neighbourhood of Table Bay, and a very interesting account of the Hottentots. The author obtained his knowledge of the customs of these people from careful observation and from information supplied by a woman of that race in the settlement who spoke the Dutch language.

de Neyn, Pieter: *Lusthof der Huwelyken, behelsende verscheyde seldsame ceremonien en plechtigheden, die voor desen by verscheyde*

Natien en Volckeren soo in Asia, Europa, Africa, als America in gebruik zyn geweest, als wel die voor meerendeel noch hedendaegs gebruykt ende onderhouden werden; mitsgaders desselfs Vrolycke Uyren, uyt verscheyde soorten van Mengel-Dichten bestaande. Amsterdam, 1697. The author of this book held the office of fiscal at the Cape of Good Hope from February 1672 to October 1674. He states that he had prepared a description of the Cape and had kept a journal, but that upon his return to Europe he was robbed of the whole of his papers and letters. The *Lusthof der Huwelyken* is a treatise upon the marriage customs of various nations, and is compiled from the writings of numerous authors. The *Vrolyke Uyren* are scraps of poetry of no particular merit. Among them are several referring to South Africa. In the *Lusthof der Huwelyken* are eight or ten pages of original matter concerning the Hottentots, written from memory. The story of the murder of the burghers by Gonnema's people in June 1673 is told, but not very correctly. An account of the execution in the following August of the four Hottentot prisoners is given, which agrees with the records, and is even more complete in its details. The story of the rescue of the Hottentot infant by Dutch women in the time of Commander Borghorst is also told more fully than in the journal of the fort. The names of the women are given, and it is added that one of them afterwards became the wife of Jan Pretorius, who had been a fellow-student with the writer at Leiden. It is also stated that the child was baptized, but died shortly afterwards. Several other items of information are given in these few pages more fully than elsewhere.

Tachard, Guy: *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jésuites, Envoyez par le Roy aux Indes & à la Chine, avec leurs Observations Astronomiques, et leurs Remarques de Phisique, de Géographie, d'Hydrographie, & d'Histoire.* Paris, 1686. (*Par ordre exprez de sa Majesté.*) Father Tachard was one of a party of six Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied an embassy sent by Louis XIV to the Court of Siam. The embassy arrived at the Cape in June 1685, and remained here about a week. Some of the missionaries were astronomers, who were provided with the best instruments known in their day, including a telescope twelve feet in length. The high commissioner Van Rheede, whom they found in supreme command, placed at their disposal the pleasure house in the Company's garden, which they converted into an observatory. They found the variation of the magnetic needle to be eleven degrees and thirty minutes west. From observations of the first satellite of Jupiter, they calculated the difference of time between Paris and the Cape to be one hour twelve minutes and forty seconds, from which they placed the Cape in longitude forty degrees thirty minutes east of Ferro. During the time that some of the missionaries were engaged in making astronomical observations, others were employed in investigating the natural history of the country and the customs of its wild inhabitants. They made the acquaintance of a physician and naturalist named Claudius, a native of Breslau in Silesia, who was here in the service of the East India Company, and who had been with several exploring expeditions in South Africa. From him and from the commander Van der Stel they obtained a great deal of information, to which they added as much as came under their own notice. The missionaries found a good many people of their creed in the colony, both among the slaves and the servants of the Company, but though no one was questioned as to his religion, they were not permitted to hold public worship on shore. Father Tachard speaks in unqualified terms of the very cordial reception which the members of the embassy had at the Cape. They were astonished as well as gratified, he says, to meet with so much politeness and kindness from the officers of the government. On his return to Europe in the following year he called again, and was equally well received. He devotes about fifty pages of his very interesting book to South Africa, and gives several illustrations of Hottentots, animals, etc.

Journal en Suite du Voyage de Siam, en forme des Lettres Familières fait en 1685 *et* 1686 *par Mr. L. D. C.* A small octavo volume of three hundred and seventy-seven pages, published at Amsterdam in 1687. This is an account of the above voyage to Siam in the ships *Oiseau* and *Maligne* by another writer, in which a few particulars of the visits to Capetown are given that Father Tachard has not mentioned. The writer was charmed with what he saw and experienced. He tells how hospitably and courteously all were treated, and how the young officers went on hunting excursions and came back laden with antelopes and pheasants. He states that the high commissioner Van Rheede, Major-General de Saint Martin, a Frenchman by birth but then commanding the whole of the Company's troops in India, and the late Governor Bax were fast friends, who more than thirty years before had left the Netherlands as soldiers with muskets on their shoulders, and had worked their way upward to the highest positions in the service. This may not be quite correct, as another writer states the same of Mr. Van Rheede, but gives him different associates. It was, however, characteristic of the Company's service at the time that its ablest officers rose from the ranks. This account of the voyage is very pleasantly written.

Tachard, Guy: *Second Voyage du Pere Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le Roy au Royaume de Siam.* I have two copies of this work, one a handsome quarto volume of four hundred and twenty-eight pages, published at Paris in 1689, the other a duodecimo volume published at Amsterdam in the same year. The second expedition sent by the king of France to Siam was conveyed in the ships *Gaillard*, *Oyseau*, *Loire*, *Normande*, and *Dromedaire*, and visited the Cape on the outward passage in June 1687. Twenty-six pages of the quarto volume are devoted to an account of occurrences here. Sixty-six pages are filled with a narrative of the loss of the Portuguese ship *Nossa Senhora dos Milagros*, as given to Father Tachard by one of the Siamese officials who was in her when she was wrecked, and who was a member of the embassy to France in 1688. There is also a brief account of Father Tachard's visit to the Cape in April 1688, when returning to France with the Siamese embassy.

Cowley, Captain: *A Voyage round the Globe, made by the Author in the years* 1683 *to* 1686. London, 1687. With several editions subsequently. The writer was in Table Bay for about a fortnight in June 1686. His work is a pamphlet of forty-four pages, six of which are devoted to an account of what he saw at the Cape of Good Hope. He has managed to compress a good deal of information into a very small compass.

de Graaf, Nicolaus: *Reisen na de vier Gedeeltens des Werelds.* Hoorn, 1701. The author of this very interesting book was a surgeon, and in that capacity visited various parts of the world between the years 1639 and 1688. He was in Table Bay in 1640, 1669, 1672, 1676, 1679, 1683, and 1687. His observations upon occurrences at the Cape are entirely in accordance with the documents preserved in the archives. His calculations of heights are more accurate than those of any other early traveller. In 1679 he estimated the height of Table Mountain from his measurements at three thousand five hundred and seventy-eight Rhynland feet. He speaks at the same time of the Duivelsberg by this name. The book is admirably written, but contains no information of value that is not also to be found in the government records of the time.

Drie seer aenmercklijcke Reysen nae en door veelerley Gewesten in Oost Indien, gedaen van Christophorus Frikius, Elias Hesse, en Christophorus Schweitzer, yeder bysonder, van't Jaer 1675 *tot* 1686. Translated by S. de Vries into Dutch from the original German, and published in a quarto volume at Utrecht in 1694. All of these travellers profess to have called twice at the Cape, and give an account of what they saw here. The first named has furnished a work of the same kind as the Baron Munchausen, but much less pleasant to read. His account of his wreck in the (imaginary) ship *Ternate* near Cape Hangklip, of his adventure with a snake sixteen feet long that had just swallowed a Hottentot except the legs in Table Valley, and of some Hottentots from the interior whom he met, who were like bats in being able to see only at dusk, should have prevented a Cape writer on a serious subject from quoting him as an authority, but very strangely did not do so. The two last mention nothing that is not to be learned from other sources.

Dampier, William: *A new Voyage round the World, etc.* The second edition in two volumes was published at London in 1697. The work was translated into Dutch, and a beautiful edition was issued at Amsterdam in 1717. In these volumes Dampier gives a very interesting account of his adventures between his departure from England in 1679 and his return in 1691. He was at the Cape for six weeks in April and May 1691, and fifteen pages of his first volume are taken up with an account of this visit. Four pages of an appendix to the second volume are devoted to an account of Natal, as furnished to the writer by his friend Captain Rogers, who had been there several times.

Vogel, Johann Wilhelm: *Zehen Jahrige Ost-Indianische Reise Beschreibung.* The second edition, a small octavo volume of seven hundred and twenty pages, was published at Altenburg in 1716. Vogel was a master miner in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and was at the Cape for a short time in 1679 and again in 1688. He has devoted about thirty-five pages to a description of this country and its people. His work is written in a German dialect which any one familiar with Dutch will have no difficulty in reading and understanding. He is quoted by early writers on South Africa, but has left nothing on record which is not to be gathered from the colonial archives.

Grævenbroeckii, N. N.: *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanæ circa Promontorium Capitis Bonæ Spei, vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatæ, descriptio epistolaris.* A manuscript volume of one hundred and twenty-one quarto pages, obtained at the sale of the Sunderland library in 1882, and presented by the late C. A. Fairbridge, Esqre., to the South African public library. It is a copy made in 1695 of a letter of Mr. Grevenbroek to a clergyman in Amsterdam. A Dutch translation by Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt appeared in the numbers of the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift* for January and February 1886. We have at the present day hardly any account of the coloured people of South Africa more accurate than this of Mr. Grevenbroek, the learned and able secretary of the council of policy during the government of Commander Simon van der Stel. When the abbé La Caille was at the Cape he was informed that Mr. Grevenbroek had prepared a work which after his death fell into Peter Kolbe's hands, and was the basis of that author's account of the Hottentots. This letter, so long unknown to writers on the

Cape, shows that La Caille's information was in all probability correct. A few errors in it are also to be found in Kolbe's volumes, and in no other writings of that period within my knowledge. It may have been a condensation of a larger work, or it may have been a beginning from which a larger work afterwards grew. In addition to observations upon the coloured people, it contains some details of events that must have been written from memory after a lapse of several years, as they are not in agreement with the contemporaneous records in the colonial archives.

Ovington, John: *A Voyage to Suratt, in the Year, 1689. Giving a large Account of that City, and its Inhabitants, and of the English Factory there. Likewise a Description of Madeira, St. Jago, Annobon, Cabenda and Malemba (upon the Coast of Africa), St. Helena, Johanna, Bombay, the City of Muscatt, and its Inhabitants, Arabia Felix, Mocha, and other Maritime Towns upon the Red-Sea, the Cape of Good Hope and the Island Ascention.* By J. Ovington, M.A., Chaplain to his Majesty. A crown octavo volume of six hundred and six pages, published at London in 1696. I have also a Dutch translation, entitled *Reysen gedaan na Suratte en andere plaatsen van Asie en Afrika*, published at Amsterdam in 1729. Ovington sailed from London for the Indies in April 1689, and reached home again in December 1693. He called at Table Bay on his return passage, and remained here seventeen days. He devotes a chapter of thirty-three pages to the Cape, in which he gives an interesting account of the colonists, the Hottentots, and the condition of the settlement. The country, which he saw in the month of May, he terms "this Paradise of the World." Of the Huguenot immigrants he says: "The Refugees of France, who are received here with the same priviledge the Dutch enjoy, acknowledge the happiness of their Transportation; and boast that their Misfortunes are turn'd into their Felicity, since they are blest here with peaceable Dwellings and kind Accommodations, who had not formerly where in safety to lay their Heads." The only fault he had to find was with the monopolies, which he regarded as highly oppressive. His description of the governor Simon van der Stel is of a friendly and courteous, but at the same time energetic man, who knew how to maintain his position with becoming dignity. He considered it worthy of mention that silver dishes only were used at the governor's table. Ovington thought there was probably no other place in the world where such a variety of wares and curiosities could be found, as every ship that put into Table Bay brought something from Europe or India to trade with. He has made several slight errors, as, for instance, in over-estimating the European population, and in describing inaccurately the method of raising revenue by licenses for the sale of wines and spirits, otherwise his account of the Cape corresponds with that given in official records.

Silleman, Daniel, and Thyssen, Lourens: *Ongeluckig of Droevigh Verhaal van 't Schip De Gouden Buys.* Enkhuizen, 1694. The *Gouden Buys* sailed from Enkhuizen on the 4th of May 1693, with one hundred and ninety souls on board, and on the 19th of October dropped anchor in St. Helena Bay, when there were only six men capable of working, all the others having died or being ill with scurvy. On the 11th of November seven men left the ship with the object of seeking assistance inland. The pamphlet of twenty-eight pages is principally taken up with an account of the terrible sufferings which they underwent in their wanderings along the Berg river, until, ultimately, Thyssen was rescued by Hottentots and taken to the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, and Silleman, after roaming about for seven weeks and a half, returned to St. Helena Bay and found some small vessels there which had been sent by the governor to the assistance of the *Gouden Buys.* The remaining hundred and eighty-eight all perished. Silleman and Thyssen relate but little that is of importance concerning the condition of the country, but their account of the friendly disposition of the Hottentots towards the Europeans is interesting.

Leguat, François: *De gevaarlyke en zeldzame Reyzen van den Heere François Leguat met zyn byhebbend Gezelschap naar twee Onbewoonde Indische Eylanden, gedaan zedert den jare* 1690, *tot* 1698 *toe.* Originally written in French, but translated into Dutch, and published at Utrecht in 1708. The author of this book was a French refugee of noble blood, who was sent out at the head of a small party to inspect and report upon the island of Bourbon, where the marquis Du Quêne proposed to establish a colony under the protection of the states-general and the East India Company of the Netherlands. (This project is fully described in despatches in the Cape archives). The captain of the vessel, however, passed by Bourbon, or Eden as the refugees had named it, and set the party ashore on the island of Rodriguez. There the author remained two years, when with the whole of his party he passed over to the island of Mauritius in an open boat. From the commander of Mauritius the refugees received most cruel treatment. He confined them on an islet for a long time without any just cause, but they were at length sent to Batavia, from whence the survivors returned to Europe. Leguat was at the Cape about three weeks on the outward passage in 1691, and again about a month on the homeward passage in 1698. In the chapter of his book which is devoted to the Cape Colony, he gives a very interesting account of the settlement and the condition of the Hottentots. He has made one or two notable errors, however, as, for instance, in estimating the European inhabitants of Drakenstein at three thousand souls. This traveller could find no drawback to the prosperity and happiness of the colonists, except the violent south-easters which damaged their crops. He thought the Company's garden in Table Valley was generally too highly praised, as the trees in it could not attain a great size, owing to the furious south-easters proceeding from a mountain usually called on that account the Devil's peak.

Maxwell, John: *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope.* A letter furnished to the Royal Society of London by the reverend Dr. John Harris, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1707. There is nothing of any great importance in this paper. It is only ten pages in length, and is chiefly devoted to a description of the Hottentots, from the personal observations of Mr. Maxwell, who had resided for a short time in the Cape Colony. In the manuscript department of the British museum the original letter from Mr. Maxwell to Dr. Harris is preserved, and I copied it for the Cape archives. It covers twenty-one pages of foolscap.

Korte Deductie van Willem Adriaen van der Stel, gewesene extraordinaris Raat van India en Gouverneur aen Cabo de bon Esperance; Tot destructie ende wederleggingen van alle de klaghten, die enige vryluyden vande voorsz Cabo aen de Edele Achtbare Heren Bewinthebberen van de Oost Indische Compagnie over hem hadden gedaen. This is a volume of one hundred and seventy-two pages foolscap size, printed in Holland—the name of the town is not stated—shortly after the recall and dismissal from the East India Company's service of Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel in 1707. It consists of his defence, or rather his attempt to explain away some of the charges that had been brought against him and that had to some extent contributed to his dismissal, which is a document covering forty-four pages divided into verses similar to those of the bible, and a number of official papers forming appendices. The work is of value to a student of Cape history of that period. The emphatic manner in which the late governor denied the accusation of his opponents that he had placed restrictions upon the free sale of their produce, that he had curtailed their right of fishing, etc., shows as clearly the theory of the government as any despatch or order that is extant. It is interesting to contrast this defence with that of the Cape government in the time of Van Plettenberg. Van der Stel shows that his accusers made many incorrect statements, but he has not succeeded in refuting the charges that his administration was oppressive to the colonists, and that he was carrying on extensive farming operations for his private benefit without the knowledge of the Company.

Contra Deductie ofte Grondige Demonstratie van de valsheit der uitgegevene Deductie by den Ed. Heer Willem Adriaan van der Stel, waarin niet alleen begrepen is een nauwkeurig Historisch Verhaal van al 't geene de Heer Van der Stel in den jare 1706 heeft werkstellig gemaakt, om de Vryburgeren aan de Kaab t'onder te brengen: maar ook een beknopt Antwoort op alle in gemelde Deductie, en deszelfs schriftelyke Verantwoordinge, voorgestelde naakte uitvluchten, abuseerende bewysstukken, en andere zaken meer, strekkende tot Verificatie van't Klachtschrift in den jare 1706 aan Haar Wel Edele Hoog Achtbaarheden, de Heeren Bewinthebberen ter Illustre Vergadering van Zeventienen afgezonden; zynde gesterkt door veele authenticque en gerecolleerde Bewysstukken, waar van de origineele of authenticque Copyen in handen hebben de twee Gemachtigden van eenige der Kaapsche Inwoonderen Jacobus van der Heiden en Adam Tas. A volume of three hundred and twenty pages foolscap size, published at Amsterdam in 1712. This volume, issued as a reply to the *Korte Deductie*, contains every particular of the charges of the Cape burghers against Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, fortified with depositions and documents of like kind. It is therefore of value to a writer on Cape history. But a drearier volume to wade through, unless one is making the history of the time a special study, can hardly be imagined.

Neutrale Gedagten over zekere korte Deductie die den Edelen Heer Willem Adriaan van der Stel heeft believen in openbaaren Druk uit te geven, tot verantwoording van zyn Gedrag in het Gouvernement aan Cabo de Bon Esperance. This is a volume of one hundred and forty-seven pages foolscap size, without author's name or place or date of publication being given. It is in a single chapter, divided into verses, and is so intolerably heavy that it can have had but few readers even at the time of the controversy. It bears upon the complaints of the Cape burghers against Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, but contains no information which is not also given in the volumes already referred to.

Bogaert, Abraham: *Historische Reizen door d'oostersche Deelen van Asia.* Amsterdam, 1711. In a book with this title one would not expect to find anything about South Africa, but out of six hundred and four pages no fewer than one hundred and fifty-six are devoted to Cape affairs. The author was a physician, but he did not hesitate to turn to any other occupation that would advance his fortunes. The book is an account of the third voyage which he made to India, with a description of the countries that he visited. Bogaert called at the Cape for the fifth time on the outward passage in July 1702, and for the sixth time on the return passage in February 1706. He devotes one chapter to a description of the country, another to an account of the Hottentots, and two long chapters to the tyranny practised by Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel and its consequences. Of this he was more than a spectator, as he took an active part in the cause of the burghers. For this period of Cape history his work is of great value, and for the rest, though no special information is to be obtained from his writings, he corroborates much of what is mentioned in official records.

Funnell, W.: *A Voyage round the World, being an Account of Captain William Dampier's Expedition into the South Seas in the Ship St. George.* The edition before me is in one volume, published in London in 1729. Funnell was an officer under Dampier in this voyage, which lasted from 1703 to 1706. He was at the Cape from the 3rd of February to the 24th of March 1706, and devotes seven pages of his work to a description of the place and the people.

Juncker, Christian: *Commentarius de vita, Scriptisque ac Meritis, Illustris Viri Jobi Ludolfi.* Leipsic and Frankfort, 1710. This little volume contains in an appendix an extract from the Cape Journal of 1691, and a short Dutch, Hottentot, and Latin vocabulary. It is quite valueless to a student of Cape history, except as indicating what may have become of Wreede's vocabulary and several missing documents of that period. Probably they were lent by the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, who was also a director of the East India Company, to the historian Ludolf, and had not been returned when Ludolf died.

Bovingh, Johann Georg: *Beschreibung und Nachricht von den Hottentotten.* A small quarto volume of forty-eight pages, published (name of place not given) in 1712. The author called at the Cape in 1709, and devotes eight pages to a description of the Hottentots, but they contain no information of any special value.

Lockyer, Charles: *An Account of the Trade in India, &c.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and forty pages, published at London in 1711. The author was at the Cape from the 22nd of May to the 12th of July 1706, and devotes sixteen pages of his volume to this place. They are not of very much interest now.

Rogers, Captain Woodes: *A Cruising Voyage round the World, begun in* 1708 *and finished in* 1711. An octavo volume published at London in 1712. The author was in Table Bay from the 28th of December 1710 to the 5th of April 1711. He gives an account of his observations and opinions upon the country and its people, which covers four pages, but contains no information of any particular value.

Purry, Jean Pierre: *Mémoire sur le Pais des Cafres et la Terre de Nuyts. Par raport à l'utilité que la Compagnie des*

Indes Orientales en pourroit retirer pour son Commerce. And *Second Mémoire sur le Pais des Cafres et la Terre de Nuyts. Servant d'éclaircissement aux propositions faites dans le premier, pour l'utilite de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* These treatises form a little volume of one hundred and sixty pages, published at Amsterdam in 1718. The speculations of the author upon climatic effects are interesting, but there is nothing in his work that can add to one's knowledge of the countries he refers to.

Kolbe, Peter: *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum.* This work, originally published in the German language at Nuremberg in 1719, professes to be a complete account of the Cape Colony and its inhabitants, European and Hottentot. Kolbe, a German who had received a tolerably good education, was sent to this country by the baron Von Krosink to make astronomical observations. He reached the Cape in June 1705. As he enjoyed the favour and patronage of the learned burgomaster of Amsterdam, Nicolaas Witsen, who was a director of the East India Company, all possible assistance in carrying out his mission was tendered by the officers of the Cape government. But Kolbe did not prove worthy of the confidence that was placed in him. Too indolent or too conceited for patient research, too credulous in believing idle tales, too unscrupulous to abstain from writing fancies and terming them facts, he forfeited the esteem of his patrons, and after a time found himself in South Africa without employment and without means of living. In February 1710 the Cape council resolved to send him back to Europe as being a person of no use in the settlement, unless he chose to become a burgher. He was saved from being deported, however, by taking service under the government. Kolbe was for a considerable time secretary of the court of landdrost and heemraden at Stellenbosch, and a mass of records in his handwriting is still in existence. That he did not make notes for reference is seen upon comparing his own entries with his printed statements. He attributed the defects in some of his official work at Stellenbosch to bad eyesight, so on the 12th of January 1713 the council of policy directed Jan Mahieu to take over the duty of secretary, and required him to report himself at the castle. The result was that in April of that year he left the colony to return to Germany, where at the time of the publication of his work he filled the post of principal of a high school. Kolbe's writings were the basis of nearly everything that was published concerning South Africa during the next half century. To those who can compare them with the official records of the time, they are unquestionably of very great value, but others should be careful not to rely too much upon them. They are often misleading as to dates and causes of occurrences, while facts are frequently distorted, and imagination is allowed to take the place of investigation. The handsomest edition of Kolbe's work is a Dutch translation entitled *Naauwkeurige Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, published at Amsterdam in two great volumes in 1727. These volumes are illustrated with numerous full-page engravings and maps, and the printing is beautifully executed. A second Dutch edition, though smaller in size, is but little inferior in style of printing and binding. There is no good translation of Kolbe's work in English that I know of. A compendium, published in two small octavo volumes in London in 1731, has caused even more discredit to be cast upon him than he deserves. It is merely a selection of his paragraphs, badly translated, and condensed by a man absolutely ignorant of his subject.

Valentyn, François: *Beschryvinge van de Kaap de Goede Hoope, met de Zaaken daar toe behoorende.* Amsterdam, 1726. This is a portion of Valentyn's great work upon the Dutch possessions in India. The author, who was a clergyman, called at the Cape in the years 1685, 1695, 1705, and 1714. He was supplied by the government with a great amount of information, including copies of charts and of several important documents. Using this as a basis, he added to it from personal observation and from communications, oral and written, from many of the principal residents in the colony. The whole is worked up into an admirable description of the country. The second edition of Valentyn's *Oost Indien* was published in three royal octavo volumes at Amsterdam in 1862, but it contains only an account of those countries that were then dependencies of the Netherlands, and consequently the chapters upon the Cape Colony are omitted.

An account of the success of two Danish missionaries lately sent to the East Indies for the conversion of the Heathens in Malabar, in several letters to their correspondents in Europe. Rendered into English, and published in London in 1718 as a crown octavo volume of four hundred and sixty-eight pages. A letter from Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh and Henry Plutscho, dated Cape of Good Hope, 30th of April 1706, gives an interesting account of their visit to Capetown.

Het Ontroerd Holland, of Kort Verhaal van de Voornaamste Onlusten, Oproeren, en Oneenigheden die in de Vereenigde Nederlanden in voorige tyden, en allerbyzonderst in deze laatste Jaaren zyn voorgevallen. This work was issued at Harderwyk in three neat volumes, the first volume in 1748, the others subsequently. The author's name is not given. The first volume contains *Een beknopte Historie van de Opschuddingen aan Cabo de Goede Hoop*, which covers twenty-two pages. It is an account of the disturbances which arose in South Africa through the rapacity and tyranny of Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, and is compiled from the *Korte Deductie*, *Contra Deductie*, and *Neutrale Gedachten*, together with the testimony of Bogaert and Kolbe.

Philips, John: *An authentic Journal of the late Expedition under the command of Commodore Anson.* An octavo volume of five hundred and sixteen pages, published at London in 1744. The author of this journal was a midshipman in the *Centurion* and was in Table Bay in that famous ship from the 12th of March to the 4th of April 1744. He has devoted sixty-seven pages to this country and its people, but the greater part of the narrative is extracted from other books. Its value, like that of all accounts by casual visitors, consists chiefly in the testimony which it affords as to the treatment of foreigners at the Cape.

de la Caille, M. l'Abbé: In the volume for the year 1751 of the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, Paris, 1755, there are three papers by the abbé De la Caille. The first is entitled *Suite des Observations faites au Cap de Bonne Espérance pour la parallaxe de la Lune*, the second *Diverses Observations astronomiques et physiques faites au Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, and the third *Relation abrégée du Voyage fait par ordre du Roi au Cap de Bonne-Espérance.* The first of these papers is of no interest except to astronomers, and the last needs no comment, as the diary of the journey will be referred to under another head. The second paper contains an account of a variety of work performed and observations recorded by the author at the Cape, which can be studied with pleasure and interest by ordinary readers as well as by those who make a special study of astronomy and meteorology. This paper covers fifty-eight pages of the *Mémoires.*

de la Caille, Nicolas Louis (l'Abbé): *Journal Historique du Voyage au Cap de Bonne-Espérance.* This is a small octavo volume, of which a considerable portion is occupied with a biography of the abbé De la Caille, who died in 1762, a year before the publication of his journal. The chapters of this book which were written by him embrace the journal kept during his residence in the colony, eighty-five pages, remarks upon the customs of the Hottentots and other inhabitants of South Africa, fifty-five pages, and notes upon Kolbe's work, forty-one pages. In point of interest these chapters come very far short of the instructive paper mentioned under another heading, for their author was dealing with subjects outside of his line of work; still they are not without considerable value. Perhaps their chief worth, historically considered, is the exposure given in them to some of Kolbe's errors, though in correcting his descriptions of the Hottentots, De la Caille really made almost as great blunders himself.

Hedendaagsche Historie of Tegenwoordige Staat van Afrika, waarin uitmunt de Beschryving van Barbarie, Senegal, Guinee, de Kaap der Goede Hope, etc. This is one of a collection of works upon contemporary history published by Isaak Tirion at Amsterdam, of which the twelve volumes upon the Netherlands form most perfect pictures of that country in the middle of that century. The volume upon Africa contains eight hundred and ten pages, and was published in 1763. One hundred and eighteen pages are devoted to the Cape Colony. A description of the Hottentots, compiled from earlier authors, takes up a considerable space, and the geography of the country as then known is described at length. The historical references are less correct than one could wish to see them, and in all parts inaccuracies may be found, such as are unavoidable in a compilation in which a work like Kolbe's was largely drawn from. De la Caille's chart of the south-west coast is attached, and there is also a general map of South Africa, which is very erroneous.

du Bois, J. P. I.: *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux, avec l'Abrégé de l'Histoire des Etablissemens Hollandois aux Indes Orientales.* A large quarto volume with portraits and numerous maps and plates. Published at the Hague in 1763. This work is a biography of the governors-general of Netherlands India from Peter Both to Jacob Mossel, and is therefore of considerable interest. Beyond this, it does not contain much special information of value to a student of South African history. Half a page only is devoted to an account of the establishment of the Cape Colony, and even that is not altogether free of error. A plan of the castle and town is given. The work, as far as I am aware, exists only in the original French.

Kindersley, Mrs.: *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and one pages, published at London in 1777. The authoress was in Capetown from November 1764 to March 1765, and in five letters, covering twenty pages of her book, gives a pleasant account of what she saw. She was favourably impressed with the government, the people, and the town.

Wolradi Wolthemadii Apotheosis. Amsterdam, 1775. A pamphlet containing a few pages of Latin verse, a large plate of the wreck of the *Jonge Thomas* in Table Bay on the 1st of June 1773, and an account of the heroism displayed by Woltemaade, who, after rescuing fourteen of the crew, sacrificed his life in a vain effort to save others.

de St. Pierre, J. H. Bernardin: *A Voyage to the Isle of France, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Cape of Good Hope; with Observations and Reflections upon Nature and Mankind.* I am indebted for my knowledge of this work to an English translation which was published in an octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-four pages at London in 1800. Anything from the pen of the amiable author of *Paul et Virginie* could not fail to be interesting, and the forty-four pages of this book in which he gives his observations upon the Cape, made during a stay of six weeks when he was returning to Europe in 1771, are very pleasantly written. Unfortunately, several of the statements made are very inaccurate.

Nieuwste en Beknopte Beschryving van de Kaap der Goede Hoop; nevens een Dag-Verhaal van eenen Landtogt naar het Binnenste van Afrika, door het Land der kleine en groote Namacquas. An octavo volume published at Amsterdam in 1778. Simultaneously with the Dutch a French edition appeared, which bears the title *Nouvelle Description du Cap de Bonne-Espérance, avec un Journal Historique d'un Voyage de terre, fait par ordre du Gouverneur feu Mgr. Ryk Tulbagh, dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique.* The first part consists of a description of the Cape Colony and the Hottentots, compiled from earlier authors, principally from Kolbe and De la Caille. It contains many inaccuracies. Next follows the journal of the expedition under the leadership of the burgher captain Hendrik Hop from the Cape to Great Namaqualand, kept by the surveyor Carel Frederik Brink, with long notes added by the compiler in Holland. This part of the work is illustrated with full-page prints of the elephant, giraffe, zebra, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, gnu, wild hog, and other South African animals, some of them being very well, others indifferently, executed. Following the journal come two reports to Governor Tulbagh by members of the expedition, the one upon the Hottentots and their customs being by far the most valuable portion of the volume. The men who drew it up were diligent observers, and one of them had the advantage of being conversant with the Hottentot language. This document is therefore not only highly interesting but of great permanent worth. The other report is upon copper ore, and was drawn up by the surgeon who accompanied the expedition. An article upon the wax plant completes the volume. Some copies—now rarely obtainable—of this work contain a number of large folding-out plates of Capetown as seen from different points and of Simonstown, beautifully drawn and engraved.

Masson, Francis: *An Account of Three Journeys from the Cape Town into the Southern Parts of Africa; undertaken for the Discovery of new Plants, towards the Improvement of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.* By Mr. Francis Masson, one of his Majesty's Gardeners. Addressed to Sir John Pringle, Bart., P.R.S. This paper covers fifty pages of volume lxvi of the

Transactions of the Royal Society, published at London in 1776. In his first journey Mr. Masson left Capetown on the 10th of December 1772, and travelled eastward as far as Swellendam. His observations are of no importance. He left Capetown again on the 11th of September 1773, in company with Dr. Thunberg, and after visiting the valley of the Elephant river and the Cold Bokkeveld, proceeded through the land of Waveren, down the valley of the Breede river, and eastward from Swellendam to the Sunday river. At Van Staden's river on this journey he saw a small kraal of Gonaquas who observed several Bantu customs. He arrived in Capetown again on the 29th of January 1774. On the 26th of September 1774 with Dr. Thunberg he left Capetown for the third time, and travelled northward to the Hantam. This journey occupied three months. There is nothing of very high interest in the paper.

Nieuwe Algemeene Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop. Amsterdam, 1777. In two octavo volumes. This work is a condensation of Kolbe's book, somewhat improved by the observations of De la Caille. The compiler had never been in South Africa. The work treats of the political and physical features of the country; of the Hottentots; of the mammalia, birds, reptiles, and insects, of the districts known; of the plants, indigenous and exotic, within the Dutch settlement; of the administration of the government, etc., etc. It contains a great many errors.

Thunberg, Charles Peter, M.D.: *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, performed between the years* 1770 *and* 1779. Originally written in Swedish, but translated into English and published at London in four small octavo volumes in 1795. The portion referring to South Africa occupies nearly the whole of the first and more than half of the second volume. Thunberg travelled as a botanist in the Cape Colony from April 1772 to March 1775, under the patronage and in the pay of the Dutch East India Company, in one of whose ships he came from Europe as a surgeon. His style of writing is not attractive, owing to the abrupt manner in which he has thrown together information of various kinds, making his work resemble a series of memoranda rather than a connected narrative. He was also so credulous as to believe and repeat many absurd tales which he heard during his wanderings. Further, his work contains little or nothing of any permanent value that is not to be found in Sparrman's or Le Vaillant's. It must, however, be said in its favour that it contains a great many facts, though irregularly strung together, and that if no other travellers had written books about the Cape at that time, his would be considered one of considerable merit. There are editions of it in French and German as well as in Swedish and English.

Sparrman, Andrew, M.D.: *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic Polar Circle, and round the World; but chiefly into the Country of the Hottentots and Kaffirs, from the year* 1772 *to* 1776. Originally written in Swedish, but translated and published in English, French, and German. The second English edition, in two volumes, with map and plates, was published at London in 1786. Sparrman arrived in South Africa in April 1772. In November of the same year he left the Cape in the *Resolution*, having engaged to accompany the English exploring expedition as a naturalist, and sailed with Captain Cook round the world. In March 1775 the *Resolution* reached the Cape again, and Dr. Sparrman at once set out upon a tour through the colony, which occupied him until April 1776. The results of his observations are given in the work under notice, which is the most interesting and most trustworthy account of the Cape Colony and the various races of people then residing in it, that was published before the beginning of the present century.

Paterson, William: *A Narrative of four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in the years* 1777, 1778, *and* 1779. London, 1789. A quarto volume containing one hundred and thirty-five pages of reading matter in the form of a journal, twenty-four pages of weather tables, and ten descriptive of animal and vegetable poisons. It is illustrated with seventeen full-page plates, principally of plants, and a large map. In the best copies the plates are coloured. A second English edition was published in 1790, and Dutch, French, and German translations were speedily issued. Lieutenant Paterson, whose chief pursuit was the study of botany, travelled eastward nearly to the Keiskama and northward beyond the Orange river. Unfortunately, his narrative is little more than a record of stages made and of specimens of plants secured. As a description of the country or of the people it is worth nothing, but it contains two or three observations of some historical value.

Stavorinus: *Reizen.* I have as yet only been able to procure in the original Dutch the first book written by this author. It is entitled *Reize van Zeeland over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Batavia, Bantam, Bengalen, enz., gedaan in de jaaren* 1768 *tot* 1771, *door den heer J. S. Stavorinus, Schout bij Nacht bij de Admiraliteit van Zeeland. Gevolgd van eenige belangrijke aanmerkingen over den aart, gewoonten, levenswijze, godsdienstplegtigheden en koophandel der volkeren in die gewesten.* This is an octavo volume, published at Leiden in 1793. I have, however, a translation in English of his complete works, entitled *Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus, Esq., Rear Admiral in the Service of the States General. Translated from the original Dutch by Samuel Hull Wilcocke. With Notes and Addi-*

tions by the Translator. The whole comprising a full and accurate Account of all the present and late Possessions of the Dutch in India and at the Cape of Good Hope. This English translation is in three thick royal octavo volumes, published at London in 1798. At the time of making his voyages to India Stavorinus was a post captain in the national navy. The States were at peace, and as he wished to acquire more experience in matters pertaining to seamanship, he asked for and obtained permission to take command of an Indiaman. In that capacity he visited Table Bay in 1768, 1771, and 1778, and Simon's Bay in 1774. Altogether he spent about fifteen weeks in South Africa. One hundred and thirty pages of his work are devoted to subjects connected with this country, and in addition nineteen pages of the appendix are occupied with an abstract of Oldenland's catalogue of plants. In these chapters the author gives an account of Capetown and its inhabitants, a description of the government, an account of an excursion to Klapmuts and Stellenbosch, particulars of the commerce of the colony, etc. He draws a broad line of distinction between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country, and institutes a comparison greatly in favour of the farmers. He denounces the rapacity of the public servants and the arbitrary nature of the government, and recommends the suppression of the first and the amelioration of the last. Stavorinus confines his observations to the European settlement, and has nothing to say of the coloured races. Attached to the work is a chart of the country and coast from Hottentots-Holland to Saldanha Bay.

Cook, James (Captain): *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, performed in his Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure in the years* 1772-1775. The third edition, in two quarto volumes, was published at London in 1779. Captain Cook was at the Cape in November 1772 and in April 1775. He has made a few observations, which are interesting but too brief to be of much value. Some short remarks are also to be found in the account of Captain Cook's last voyage, the third edition of which, in three quarto volumes, was published at London in 1785. This work is entitled *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean undertaken by the command of His Majesty for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere; performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the years* 1776-1780. Volumes i and ii were written by Captain Cook, volume iii by Dr. King. The expedition was at the Cape in November 1776 and in April 1780.

Sonnerat, M.: *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine, Fait par ordre du Roi, depuis* 1774 *jusqu'en* 1781: *Dans lequel on* *traite des Mœurs, de la Religion, des Sciences & des Arts des Indiens, des Chinois, des Pégouins & des Madegasses; suivi d'Observations sur le Cap de Bonne-Esperance, les Isles de France & de Bourbon, les Maldives, Ceylan, Malacca, les Philippines & les Moluques, & de Recherches sur l'Histoire Naturelle de ces Pays.* Par M. Sonnerat, Commissaire de la Marine, Naturaliste Pensionnaire du Roi, Correspondant de son Cabinet & de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris. Two beautiful quarto volumes, published at Paris in 1782. They contain four pages of reading matter concerning South Africa and two large plates of Hottentots and Kaffirs. I have also an English translation entitled *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China, performed by order of Lewis XV between the years* 1774 *and* 1781. Translated from the French of Monsieur Sonnerat by Francis Magnus. This is in three octavo volumes, published at Calcutta in 1788. It does not contain the plates. I have also a Dutch translation published in three octavo volumes at Leiden in 1786, and entitled *Reize naar de Oost Indien en China in de Jaaren* 1774-1781, *op last des Konings van Frankryk, gedaan door den Heer Sonnerat.* The French naturalist Sonnerat, having spent five years in travelling in Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar, New Guinea, the Moluccas, and the Philippine islands, where he made rich collections of specimens in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, returned to Paris and published a work in quarto illustrated with one hundred and twenty plates. He was then sent by the king to make further researches in other parts of the East, and was absent from France on this occasion seven years. He returned in 1781 with a magnificent collection of animals and plants. Sonnerat called at the Cape on several occasions, and in 1781 spent some weeks here. He is mentioned by other travellers of the time, who considered the meeting of a man of such eminence in the study of natural history a noteworthy event. In the last volumes here referred to there is but one chapter upon the Cape Colony, and it covers only five pages. These are pages of correct information, but the whole is too short to draw attention, were it not for the name of the author.

Raynal, Guillaume Thomas: *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes.* This is one of the great histories produced in the eighteenth century, and its writer long held in French literature a position similar to that occupied by Hume and Gibbon among English authors. Modern critics believe, however, that he was only a compiler, and that Diderot wrote at least one third of the book. On account of the views expressed in it being offensive to the king, the work was condemned to be publicly burned, and Raynal was obliged to leave France for a short time. Napoleon was a warm admirer of the book, and treated its author (or compiler) with great respect. Of the many editions, one of the best is in ten octavo volumes with large quarto atlas, published at Geneva in 1782. In this edition sixteen pages are devoted to the establishment of the Cape Colony, but they do not contain a correct account of that event. The archives of the East India Company were not then open, and only printed works upon South Africa could be referred to. The Cape Colony also, in relation to other countries, was considered so unimportant that only a certain amount of time as well as of space could be devoted to it.

le Vaillant, François: *Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les annees* 1780, '81, *et* '82. Paris, 1790. The two volumes of M. Le Vaillant's work, in which an account is given of his journey to Kaffirland, contain a little interesting matter, but the author's vivid imagination caused him to colour his descriptions too highly. Le Vaillant came to South Africa in the *Held Woltemaade*, the Dutch Indiaman which was captured by a ship of Commodore Johnstone's fleet soon after she sailed from Saldanha Bay. He reached the Fish river towards the close of 1781. There are translations of this work in Dutch and English.

Dalrymple, Alexander: *An Account of the Loss of the Grosvenor Indiaman, commanded by Capt. John Coxon, on the 4th of August* 1782, *with a Relation of the Events which befel those Survivors who have reached England, viz. Robert Price, Thomas Lewis, John Warmington, and Barney Larey, being the Report given in to the East India Company.* This is an octavo pamphlet of fifty-eight pages, published with the approbation of the court of directors, at London (second edition), in 1785. An appendix of thirty-eight pages contains the report of William Hubberley, another of the survivors. In this little work the particulars of the wreck are given briefly, the greater portion being taken up with an account of the wanderings and sufferings of the narrators. A list of the names of those who were left behind is given.

Carter, George: *A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman, which was unfortunately wrecked upon the Coast of Caffraria on the 4th of August* 1782. *Compiled from the Examination of John Hynes, one of the unfortunate survivors.* London, 1791. This work is an illustrated volume of one hundred and seventy-four pages, and contains an account of the wreck, of Hynes' journey until he reached the residence of a colonist, and lists of names of those saved, left behind, and known to have perished.

A narrative of the two sailors lately arrived in England, and who were wrecked in the Grosvenor East Indiaman on the coast of Caffraria, August 4, 1782, *containing a particular description of* *the hardships they endured and the dangers they escaped; besides an account of the country, the extraordinary manners of the inhabitants, and other very interesting particulars relative to the miraculous preservation of one of the sailors, the finding an infant buried alive in the sand on the sea-shore, and an old man whom they found exposed to the ferocity of the wild beasts in the woods, etc., etc., etc.* A pamphlet of forty-three pages published at London in 1783. This little work is evidently the production of some ingenious writer in London. It contains illustrations of several of Kolbe's inaccuracies, but not a single item of information relative to the wreck that had not been published previously.

L'Afrique Hollandaise; ou Tableau Historique et Politique de l'Etat originaire de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Esperance comparé avec l'Etat actuel de cette Colonie. Publié sur le manuscrit d'un Observateur instruit. An octavo volume of three hundred and twenty-two pages, published in Holland (no city mentioned) in 1783. The writer's name is not given, but it is evident that he was a Cape burgher. This work was published at a time when the colonists of South Africa were divided into two factions, and party feeling was running extremely high. The writer was a special pleader of one of the factions, and therefore anything like an impartial account of the colony is not to be expected from his pen. His account of the early days of the settlement is almost fabulous in its inaccuracy. Thus Van Riebeek is represented as a kind of hero, and his immediate successors as tyrants who destroyed the liberal form of government which he introduced. He is said to have wrested the country from the Portuguese, and to have brought out a body of planters with him. A large portion of the book is taken up with a refutation of the defence of the fiscal Boers. The value of the work consists in the fact that it gives a picture of the administration of the East India Company, at the time it was written, from the point of view of a large section of the colonists of South Africa.

Redelinghuys, Johannes Henricus: *De Eerloosheid ontmaskerd.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred pages, published at Amsterdam in 1792. The author of this book was one of the delegates who proceeded to the Netherlands in 1785 to bring the grievances of the Cape burghers anew before the states-general, and to endeavour to obtain redress. One hundred and one pages are taken up with a complaint of the manner in which he was treated by his constituents, and the remaining ninety-nine pages are filled with copies of documents relating to his mission. The book is valuable to a student of Cape history more as showing the height to which passion was running at the time than for any information which it contains.

James, Silas: *A Narrative of a Voyage to Arabia, India, etc., containing, amidst a variety of information, a Description of Saldanha Bay, etc., etc.* An octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-two pages, published at London in 1797. The author of this work was a seaman on board a ship in the fleet of Commodore Johnstone, and was present in the engagement with the French at Porto Praya on the 16th of April 1781, of which event he gives some particulars not found in the official reports of either the English or the French commanders. He describes also the capture of the *Held Woltemaade*, and the seizure of the Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay. His account must be compared with official documents, however, as it is not strictly accurate. On the return passage James was in Saldanha and Table bays from September 1783 to March 1784, but his account of that visit contains nothing of interest.

Rooke, Henry: *Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix, and from thence by tho Red Sea and Egypt to Europe, containing a short account of an Expedition undertaken against the Cape of Good Hope, in a series of letters by Henry Rooke, Esq., late Major of the 100th Regiment of Foot.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and twenty-two pages, (second edition) published at London in 1784. Fifteen pages are devoted to an account of the battle in Porto Praya roads between the French and English fleets, of which the author was an eye witness, and twelve more to the capture of the Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay and remarks upon the importance to Great Britain of getting possession of the Cape settlement.

Kaapsche Geschillen. Four bluebooks, containing in all one thousand one hundred and forty-six large quarto pages, printed in Holland in 1785. They contain the principal documents concerning the complaints of the burghers from the 1st of March 1779 to the 28th of July 1785, with the replies of the officers at the Cape.

le Vaillant, François: *Second Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les années 1783, 1784, et 1785.* Paris, l'An 3 de la République une et indivisible. This work is in three octavo volumes, in which Le Vaillant gives an account of his journey from the Cape to Namaqualand. It has the same faults as the account of his journey to Kaffraria, and would have been greatly improved by the omission of many of the adventures described with wearisome minuteness as well as such tales as that of his bursting into tears and throwing himself into the arms of a savage. The great defects in this book of Le Vaillant have caused some of his critics to express an opinion that he never really crossed the Orange river into Great Namaqualand, but drew upon his imagination for the account he has given. This view is incorrect, and there can be no reasonable doubt that he went as far as he states that he did. His account of the lower portion of Great Namaqualand and its people will be found fairly correct, if separated from his own exploits. His troubles south of the Orange, the suffering from thirst, the loss of his cattle, and the abandonment of his waggons until he procured aid from a Hottentot clan, coincide with the experiences of many other travellers. When ultimately he reached the great river, he found himself compelled to leave his waggons on the southern bank, and to push forward with horses and pack oxen. He states that he had formed a design to traverse the continent from south to north, and only abandoned it when it was proved to be absolutely hopeless. The work is illustrated, but is not divided into chapters.

Degrandpré, L. (Officier de la Marine française): *Voyage à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années* 1786 *et* 1787*; suivi d'un Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance, contenant la description militaire de cette colonie.* Two volumes octavo. Paris, 1801. Nearly the whole of the second volume is devoted to the Cape Colony. The author was a man of keen observation and of extensive reading. His work is therefore valuable as well as interesting. His description of the Cape is of a period just before the first English conquest of the colony, though it was written after that event. Of the country beyond the isthmus Degrandpré says but little, as his farthest journey inland was only along the Berg river to its mouth. He treats very fully of the navigation and winds at Table Bay, and describes Robben Island, Capetown, and Table Mountain at great length. Into military matters he enters largely, as stated in the title of his work. Speculative remarks upon the formation of Table Mountain and upon the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients also occupy a good deal of space. This author is very severe upon the colonists, to whom he attributes the destruction of the Hottentot race. He speaks in the highest terms of Sparrman's work, and exposes many romances in that of his own countryman Le Vaillant, to whose ability, industry, and extensive researches in natural history, however, he testifies. It produces a smile to find Degrandpré in his preface indignantly denouncing Damberger as an impostor, and seriously pointing out errors that this African Munchausen had fallen into. A good chart of the coast from Saldanha Bay to False Cape and a plan of the Cape castle are attached to the work.

Huysers, Ary: *Beknopte Beschryving der Oost Indische Etablissementen.* Utrecht, 1789. Only four pages of this volume are devoted to the Cape Colony, and those chiefly to its finances, but there is some interesting matter in the appendix.

Riou, Capt. Edward: *A Journal of a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope, undertaken in* 1790 *and* 1791 *by Jacob van Reenen* *and others of his countrymen, in search of the wreck of the Honourable the East India Company's ship The Grosvenor, to discover if there remained alive any of the unfortunate sufferers. With additional Notes and a Map.* A quarto pamphlet of fifty-one pages published at London in 1792. It is a literal translation of the journal of an expedition that travelled through Kaffirland to the place where the *Grosvenor* was lost. The map added by Captain Riou is a curiosity. In it Natal and even St. Lucia River are placed a long way south of the Umzimvubu. With a knowledge of Kaffir proper names and a good modern map of South Africa, there is not the slightest difficulty in following the course of Van Reenen's party from the journal, but Captain Riou believed that it nearly reached Delagoa Bay. There are Dutch and French editions of the work.

Staat der Generale Nederlandsche Oost Indische Compagnie, behelzende Rapporten van de Heeren Haar Ed. Groot Mog. Gecommitteerden G. J. Doys, Baron van der Does, Heer van Noordwyk, Mr. P. H. van de Wall, Mr. J. Rendorp, Heer van Marquette, en Mr. H. van Straalen, als mede Nader Rapport van gemelde heeren gecommitteerden, en Bylaagen. Two volumes. Amsterdam, 1792. These volumes contain a large amount of statistical and other valuable information concerning the Cape Colony.

de Jong, Cornelis: *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland, en Noorwegen, in de Jaren* 1791 *tot* 1797. Three octavo volumes, published at Haarlem in 1802. The author of this work was captain of the Dutch frigate *Scipio.* His ship lay at anchor in Table or Simon's Bay from the 27th of March 1792 to the 31st of May 1793. In the following year Captain De Jong returned from Europe to the Cape, and remained on this occasion rather longer than six months. His official position, combined with his being an intimate friend of the commissioner Sluysken, gave him a thorough knowledge of the events then taking place in the colony. Several short tours afforded him opportunities of observing the country and people, and his marriage with a Cape lady must have added to the interest which he took in the colony. In the form of a series of well-written and lively letters to a friend, Captain De Jong has placed on record his observations. In point of value to a student of Cape history, this work ranks high. It is ornamented with a view of Simonstown and harbour, and with two large pictures of Table Mountain and Bay, one of which is from the pencil of the celebrated Kobell.

Nederburgh, S. C.: *Verhandeling over de Vragen of, en in hoe verre, het nuttig en noodzakelijk zijn zoude, de Oost Indische Bezittingen van deezen Staat, ofte sommigen derzelven, te brengen op den voet der West Indische Volkplantingen; en of, en in hoe verre, het* *voordeeliger voor dit Gemeenebest, en desselfs Ingezeetenen, zijn zoude, den Handel op voormelde Bezittingen bij aanhoudendheid door eene uitsluitende Compagnie te drijven, dan wel die voor allen 's Lands Ingezeetenen open te stellen; en in dit laatste geval: op welke voorwaarden, en onder welke bepalingen.* An octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-two pages, published at the Hague in 1802. The author of this work, Mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, had been commissioner-general of the whole of Netherlands India and the Cape of Good Hope. There are only a few pages of the book devoted to this colony. These contain little beyond some severe comments upon the burghers and some remarks upon the introduction of Spanish rams and the production of merino wool.

Nederburgh, S. C.: *Echte Stukken betreffende het volbragt onderzoek der verrichtingen van de Generaal Commissie in den jare* 1791 *benoemd geweest over de O. I. Bezittingen van den Staat en de Kaab de Goede Hoop, benevens den Finalen Uitslag van hetzelve.* An octavo volume of one hundred and fifty-six pages published at the Hague in 1803. The items in this work of greatest interest to a student of Cape history are some official documents connected with the arrival of Admiral Elphinstone's fleet in Simon's Bay in 1795, and to the subsequent intercourse between the English and Dutch officers.

Some important papers are to be found in the *Annual Register or View of History, Politics, and Literature*, published at London. Thus the volume for 1758 contains an account of the wreck of the *Doddington;* the volume for 1790 contains a narrative of the disaster to the *Guardian;* and the volume for 1795 contains despatches, copied from the *London Gazette*, concerning the conquest of the colony, from the officers commanding the English forces.

van Hogendorp, Gysbert Karel: *Verhandelingen over den Oost Indischen Handel.* Three octavo volumes, Amsterdam, 1801. The second volume, of three hundred and eighty-eight pages, is devoted to the Cape Colony.

van Ryneveld, W. S.: *Aanmerkingen over de Verbetering van het Vee aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, inzonderheid over de Conversie der Kaapsche in Spaansche of Wolgeevende Schapen.* A pamphlet of one hundred and four pages, printed at Capetown in 1804. Some information concerning the attempts made to improve the breed of cattle at the Cape is to be found in this little work.

Sluysken, A. J.: *Verbaal gehouden by den Commissaris van de Caap de Goede Hoop.* An octavo volume of three hundred and thirty pages, published at the Hague in 1797. This is Mr. Sluysken's account of events from the 10th of June to the 16th of September 1795, and contains nearly the whole of the correspondence between the officers commanding the English forces and himself. A large portion of it has been copied from the secret resolutions of the council of policy preserved in the Cape archives.

Neethling, C. L.: *Onderzoek van 't verbaal van A. J. Sluysken, voormalige commissaris van Cabo de Goede Hoop, en verdediging van 't gedrag der Caapsche burgery.* A demi octavo volume of one hundred and three pages, published in 1797. The place of publication is not given, but it was probably Amsterdam. In this book some of the errors and omissions of duty of Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon are pointed out, and Sluysken's printed defence of his conduct is sharply criticised, but very little other information is given.

Kaye, John William: *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.* Two demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1856. Sir John, then Lieutenant, Malcolm was military secretary to Major-General Alured Clarke, and was present during the operations which ended in the capitulation of the Cape Colony in September 1795, of which he gives a short account.

Campagne, H. D.: *Memorie en Byzonderheden wegens de Overgave der Kaap de Goede Hoop,* 1795. *Als mede Relaas gegeven door den 's lands kapitein Dekker wegens het voorgevallen tusschen denzelve, den Engelsche Admiraal Generaal Sir George Keith Elphinstone, en den Commissaris Sluysken aan Kabo de Goede Hoop.* Manuscript in the archives of the Netherlands, a copy of which has been obtained by the Cape government for preservation with its records. This is a very graphic and complete account of events from June to September 1795, by an eye-witness. The writer belonged to the corps of pennists, but his sympathies were with the democratic party. In an appendix a well-written account of the Kaffir war of 1793 is given, the writer having been engaged in it.

Marnitz, Philip Wilhelm: *Verhaal van de Overgaave van de Kaap de Goede Hoop aan de Engelschen. Door een vriend der waarheid aldaar. In't tweede jaar der Batavische vryheid.* This work is in manuscript in the archives of the Netherlands, and a copy has been procured for preservation with the Cape records. Its author was an eye-witness of what he relates. He gives a version of occurrences from the arrival of the British fleet to the surrender of the colony, from the standpoint of an artillery officer attached to the democratic party in Europe. He is very severe upon Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon.

Watermeyer, E. B.: *Three Lectures on the Cape of Good Hope under the government of the Dutch East India Company.* These lectures, which were delivered at the Capetown Mechanics' Institute and published as a pamphlet in 1857, during the next twenty years were regarded as the highest authority upon that period of South African history. The information contained in them was derived partly from such of the old colonial records as were then accessible, but Judge Watermeyer had not time for close research.

Verzameling van eenvoudige leerredenen aan de gemeente van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, ter gedachtenis toegewijd door haren medeleeraar Helperus Ritzema van Lier. Met een karakterschets van den schrijver. Three editions had been issued in Holland when the fourth—an octavo volume of two hundred and eighty-five pages—was published in Capetown in 1852. It contains eighteen sermons, eleven of the texts being taken from the new testament.

Merkwaardig Verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos, als predikant der Hervormde Christelijke Geemeenten op verscheidene plaatsen in Nederland, Afrika en Azië van zijne Jeugd af tot den tijd van zijn Emeritusschap, door hemzelven in den jare 1819 *briefsgewijze aan eenen vriend medegedeeld.* An octavo volume of two hundred and thirteen pages, published at Amsterdam in 1824.

de Villiers, Christoffel Coetzee: *Geslacht Register der oude Kaapsche familien.* The materials for this work were collected by Mr. C. C. de Villiers, of Capetown, assisted by his wife, during many years of close application. All the baptismal and marriage entries of Europeans and persons of European descent in the church registers of Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Tulbagh, Malmesbury, and Graaff-Reinet, from the foundations of those churches to the close of the eighteenth century, were copied. Unfortunately these registers are not complete, so in an endeavour to supply what was wanting, the wills and inventories in the office of the master of the supreme court and the documents in the registry of deeds were carefully examined, and copious notes were made from them. Old family bibles were sought out, and yielded some information. The public archives were next turned to, but before the first series of papers in them was completely examined, the indefatigable worker was suddenly struck down by death, and his widow did not long survive him. His papers remained unarranged for several years, but in 1892 the government of the Cape Colony resolved to have them put in order and printed as a public undertaking, and the parliament without a dissentient voice voted the necessary funds. The task of arranging them and putting them through the press was entrusted to me, with Mr. W. J. Vlok—a most industrious and able man—as assistant. We were engaged upon it nineteen months. The work forms three thick crown quarto volumes in brevier type, and contains the genealogical tables of over fifteen hundred distinct families, some occupying only a few lines, others ten or a dozen pages. The places of birth of more than nine-tenths of the men who founded those families are given. That the work contains matter of importance to a writer of South African history is thus evident, though its chief interest is of another nature.

Moodie, D.: *The Record; or a Series of Official Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa.* Compiled, translated, and edited by D. Moodie, Lieut. R.N., and late Protector of Slaves for the Eastern Division of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Capetown, 1838. This work, now unfortunately so rare that a copy is only obtainable by chance, is a literal translation of a great number of original documents relating to the coloured tribes of South Africa from 1651 to June 1690, and from 1769 to 1809. A vast amount of labour and patience must have been expended in the preparation of this large and valuable book. I have not had occasion to make use of it, because, first, the early records are now much more complete than they were when Mr. Moodie examined them, and secondly, my aim was to collect information concerning the European colonists as well as the coloured tribes. Nevertheless, it would be an act of injustice on my part not to acknowledge the eminent service performed by Mr. Moodie in this field of literary labour forty years before the archives were entrusted to my care.

Lauts, G.: *Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Nederlandsche Volkplanting.* 1652-1806. *Door den Hoogleeraar G. Lauts.* Amsterdam, 1854. A pamphlet of one hundred and eighty-six pages. The author had access to the archives of South Africa at the Hague, and made good use of them. He was unacquainted with the country, and has made some very strange blunders, but his work, as far as it goes, is superior to anything previously produced on the colony.

van Kampen, N. G.: *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa.* This is a work published in four octavo volumes at Haarlem in 1831. The references to the Cape Colony are incorrect, both as to occurrences and dates.

Theal, George McCall: *Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape from* 1651 *to* 1687. A demi octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-three pages, published at Capetown in 1881.

Theal, George McCall: *Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten verzameld in de Kaap Kolonie en elders.* Two demi octavo pamphlets, together two hundred and twenty-two pages, published at Capetown in 1896. These contain exact copies of the Instructions given by the high commissioner H. A. van Rheede in 1685, a number of papers relating to the insurrection of Etienne Barbier in 1739, the

Journal of Governor Van Plettenberg's visit to the Frontier in 1778,* a paper by George McKay, Esqre., on the Antiquity of Man in South Africa, the Journal of the voyage of the *Noord* to Delagoa Bay in 1688, the Journal of the visit of Ensign Beutler to Kaffirland in 1752, an Account of a visit to Inhambane in 1770 by some castaways, and several other documents.

Dagverhaal van Jan van Riebeek, Commandeur aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop. Under this title the Historical Society at Utrecht has published three demi octavo volumes containing the journal kept in the fort Good Hope from 1652 to 1662. The first of these volumes, 605 pages, was published in 1884, the second, 621 pages, in 1892, and the third, 755 pages, in 1893.

De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië onder de Oost Indische Compagnie (1602-1795), door C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruyn, Predikant, laatstelyk te Batavia. An octavo volume of seven hundred and five pages, published at Arnhem in 1884. Some interesting particulars concerning various individuals connected with the Cape Colony are to be found in this book.

Decreeten der Nationale Vergadering, representeerende het Volk van Nederland. Volumes ii, viii, and x, which were issued at the Hague in octavo in 1796, contain the particulars of Mr. Sluysken's defence and the action of the National Assembly with reference to him.

Memorien van den Gouverneur Van de Graaff over de gebeurtenissen aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop in 1780-1806. Copied from a manuscript in the South African Public Library by the reverend H. C. V. Leibbrandt, and published in Holland by Mr. J. E. Heeres. Seventy-seven demi octavo pages and two charts.

van Deventer, M. L.: *La Hollande et la Baie-Delagoa.* A crown octavo pamphlet of eighty pages, published at the Hague in 1883.

The first volume of the *Records of the Cape Colony* published by me in London contains some very important official documents dating from 1793 onwards.

The reverend H. C. V. Leibbrandt, my successor as keeper of the archives of the Cape Colony, has published a number of volumes containing a précis in the English language of portions of the old records under his charge. They comprise

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*I searched in the archive departments in Capetown and the Hague for this important document, which gives the names of the chiefs with whom the governor arranged that the Fish river should be the eastern colonial boundary, but could only find references to it, and at length came to consider it as no longer in existence. While engaged in preparing the first of the above named pamphlets for the press, an official in the public works branch of the administration in Capetown informed me that there was a large quantity of old manuscript that did not belong to that department stowed away in a room in the building he occupied. I went with him to examine it, and to my great gratification one of the first documents I saw was the missing journal, which I copied immediately to send to the printer.

1. The Journal from December 1651 to the end of 1676, and from 1699 to 1732, six royal octavo volumes, in all 1,830 pages, Capetown, 1896 to 1902.

2. Letters despatched, 1652 to 1662, and 1696 to 1708. Four royal octavo volumes, in all 1,645 pages, Capetown, 1896 to 1900. Some of these contain the original Dutch documents in full, as well as English translations, and are therefore of exceptional value.

3. Letters received, 1649 to 1662, and 1695 to 1708. Three royal octavo volumes, in all 1,320 pages, Capetown, 1896 to 1899. Some of these also contain the Dutch originals.

4. Various documents from December 1651 to December 1653. Foolscap octavo, 239 pages.

5. Resolutien van den Commandeur en Raden van het Fort de Goede Hoop, 1652 to 1662. Royal octavo, 187 pages, Capetown, 1898.

6. Memorials, 1715 to 1806. Two royal octavo volumes, together 1,319 pages, Capetown, 1905 and 1906.

7. English translation of the *Korte Deductie* of W. A. van der Stel, royal octavo, 198 pages, Capetown, 1897. It is to be hoped that a translation of the *Contra Deductie* will also be given, so that English readers may not be misled by having one side of the question only before them.

Having carefully examined the original documents and extracted my information from them, I have not done more than glance through these volumes to satisfy myself that nothing of importance had escaped my notice. They exhibit proofs of much patience and industry, and should draw attention to the value of the records of the Dutch administration.

When enlarging my chapter upon the Bushmen for this edition, I made free use of Mr. G. W. Stow's work entitled *The Native Races of South Africa*, a royal octavo volume of six hundred and thirty-four pages, published in London in 1905. The manuscript of this volume had been in possession of Miss L. C. Lloyd for many years after Mr. Stow's death, when at her request I undertook to see it through the press. It is a work of high value, as the author took a vast amount of trouble to collect his material, and laboured upon it at a time when it was still possible to get information from individuals of the Bushman race. The book deals also with the Hottentot and Betshuana tribes, but of these sections I did not require to make use.

Spoelstra, C., V.D.M.: *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika.* Two crown quarto volumes, published at Amsterdam in 1906 and 1907. These volumes contain the papers in the archives of the Classis of Amsterdam relating to the Cape churches. I examined the documents in 1896, and made such notes from them as I needed, so that their publication came too late to be of use to me, but the volumes will be of the greatest service to future students.

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Capetown: on the 8th of April 1652 the first building is commenced, ii 15; in 1666 it is occupied by sixteen families besides servants of the Dutch East India Company, ii 158; in 1691 it covers a great part of the ground between the present Plein and Burg streets from the Company's garden to the shore of Table Bay, ii 363; in October 1695 the Keizersgracht—now Darling street—is laid out, ii 373; in April 1696 the streets begin to be patrolled at night by a burgher watch, ib.; within the next four years

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de Carvalho, Martim Gomes: assists in the defence of Fort São Sebastião against the Dutch, i 412

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de Castro, Martim Affonso, viceroy of India: reference to, i 414

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Cattle barter: method in which it is conducted by officers of the government with Hottentots in the early days of the Dutch settlement, ii 29; is extensively carried on for many years by trading parties sent out by the government specially for that purpose; in 1658 the burghers are prohibited from bartering anything from the Hottentots under severe penalties, ii 86; by placaat in October 1697 it is prohibited under even more severe penalties, ii 388; in February 1700 it is permitted by order of the directors, ib.; but in 1703 is again prohibited, ii 392; and in April 1727 is finally forbidden under very severe penalties, ii 484

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de Chavonnes, Lieutenant-Colonel Maurits Pasques: is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, ii 434; in March 1714 assumes the duty, ib.; is a man of quiet and religious habits, ii 455; in 1721 is raised to the rank of ordinary councillor of

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Church building, Dutch reformed, in Table Valley: in 1666 a church is built of wood within the walls of the castle, ii 145; in 1678 it is broken down, ii 240; in the same year the foundation stone of a new church is laid, but nothing more is done to it for many years, ib.; in 1700 the work is again taken in hand, and in January 1704 the church is opened for public worship, ii 393; in 1781 it is enlarged, iii 51

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August 1693; Hercules van Loon (acting), September 1694 to December 1695; Petrus Kalden, December 1695 to April 1707; Engelbertus Franciscus le Boucq (acting), April to August 1707; Hendrik Bek (acting), August 1707 to January 1708; Johannes Godfried d'Ailly, January 1708 to June 1726; Lambertus Slicher, June 1721 to July 1725; Hendrik Bek, June 1726 to April 1731; François le Sueur, October 1729 to June 1730, and April 1731 to August 1746; Hendrik Kock, April 1732 to February 1742; Arnoldus Maurits Meyring (acting), March to September 1743; Ruwardus Cloppenburg, August 1746 to January 1748; Petrus van der Spuy, September 1746 to January 1753; Hendrik Kroonenburg, October 1752 to December 1778; Gerhardus Croeser, September 1754 to November 1755; Christiaan Benjamin Voltelen, November 1755 to April 1758; Johannes Frederik Bode, November 1758 to July 1784; Johannes Petrus Serrurier, March 1760 to June 1804; Christiaan Fleck, January 1781 to October 1820; Meent Borcherds, May 1785 to September 1786; Helperus Ritzema van Lier, September 1786 to July 1792; Johannes Abraham Kuys, May 1794 to January 1799

Clergyman of Drakenstein, succession of ministers who held the situation of: Pierre Simond, December 1691 to May 1702; Hendrik Bek, May 1702 to April 1707; Petrus van Aken, August 1714 to December 1724; Lambertus Slicher, July 1725 to June 1730; François le Sueur (acting), June 1730 to April 1731; Johan Wilhelm Hartzogenrath, April 1731 to June 1736; Salomon van Echten, June 1736 to January 1753; Petrus van der Spuy, January 1753 to March 1781; Robert Nicolaas Aling, April 1784 to May 1800

Clergyman of Roodezand's church (now Tulbagh), succession of ministers who held the situation of: Arnoldus Maurits Meyring, September 1743 to May 1757; Remmerus Harders, January 1758 to June 1774; Johannes Abraham Kuys, April 1777 to March 1794; Michiel Christiaan Vos, March 1794 to April 1802

Clergyman of Stellenbosch, succession of ministers who held the situation of: Hercules van Loon, April 1700 to June 1704; Hendrik Bek, April 1707 to June 1726 (removed temporarily to act at Capetown from August 1707 to January 1708); Salomon van Echten, November 1732 to June 1736; Willem van Gendt, December 1738 to October 1744; Eduard Arendsen, September 1747 to July 1749; Johannes Appeldoorn, September 1753 to September 1772; Philip Kuys, April 1777 to February 1785; Meent Borcherds, September 1786 to December 1830

Clergyman of Zwartland's church (now Malmesbury), succession of ministers who held the situation of: Rutger Andries Weerman, May 1745 to December 1748; Christiaan Benjamin Voltelen, August 1750 to November 1755; Gerhardus Croeser, November 1755 to May 1770; Daniel Goldbach, April 1774 to March 1783; Petrus van der Spuy, junior, April 1786 to November 1806

Climate of Betshuanaland: was formerly much moister than at present, i 59; of Sofala, i 197; of the Zambesi valley, i 322

Clive, Lord: in 1764 visits the Cape, iii 151; and again in 1767, iii 152

Cloppenburg, J. W.: in September 1762 arrives in Capetown and assumes duty as fiscal independent, iii 43; in April 1766 becomes secunde, iii 59; in May 1770 dies, ib.

Cloppenburg, Rev. R.: in August 1746 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 517; in March 1748 is dismissed from the service, and sent back to Europe, ib.

Cloth: small pieces of coarse texture are manufactured by some Bantu, i 156

Clothing: of the Bushmen, i 15; of the Hottentots, i 41; of the Bantu, i 156; of the Mohamedans on the eastern coast, i 188

Coche, the, French ship: in 1689 is captured in Table Bay, ii 358

Cochoqua tribe of Hottentots: in 1655 a clan or division of this tribe, under the captain Gonnema, visits the Cape peninsula, ii 51; a large cattle trade is carried on with them, ib.; in 1658 the Europeans make the acquaintance of another clan of this tribe, under the chief Oedasoa, with whom Commander Van Riebeek enters into alliance, ii 85; they are at feud with the Cape clans, ib.; and with the Namaquas, ii 112; in 1662 they are visited by Commander Wagenaar, ii 132; in 1664 they are at war with the Hessequa tribe, ii 156; in 1670 the clan under Gonnema visits the Cape peninsula, ii 190; in 1671 the tribe is nearly ruined by the Chainouquas, ii 191; in 1673 the clan under Gonnema is at war with the Europeans, ii 212; in 1677 peace is concluded between Governor Bax and Gonnema, ii 233; in 1689 the tribe is pillaged by the Namaquas and the Grigriquas, ii 355. See Gonnema and Oedasoa

Cocoa palm: is cultivated by the Asiatics on the coast of Eastern Africa and is made much use of, i 186

Coelho, Gomes, a resident of Tete: mention of, i 309

Coelho, Nicolau: is captain of a ship in the expedition under Vasco da Gama, i 214; on the 10th of July 1499 reaches the Tagus again, before Da Gama, i 227; commands a ship in the fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, i 230

Coetsee, Jacobus: in 1760 hunts elephants beyond the Orange river, which stream he is believed to be the first European to cross, iii 46; brings back vague reports of distant tribes, ib.

Colebrooke, English ship: in 1778 is wrecked in False Bay, iii 158

Collaço, André: is the holder of a prazo of immense extent, i 481

Colonisation of Portuguese East Africa: mention of projects of, i 351, 465, 477, 486, and 490

Colonists, Dutch: in February 1657 first settle in South Africa, ii 61 *et seq.*; in 1687 are in a fairly prosperous condition, ii 327

Commerce of Portuguese South Africa: particulars concerning, i 82, 185, 186, 188, 235, 288, 296, 316, 336, 345, 346, 348, 360, 361, 362, 379, 384, 386, 387, 397, 399, 407, 409, 421, 423, 452, 463, 465, 467, 475, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492, and 493, and iii 322 and 324

Commission of the high court of justice of the Cape Colony: in 1786 is appointed to perform various duties, iii 169; but fails in its object, iii 171

Commonwealth of England: war of the Netherlands with, ii 32

Community of property between husband and wife in the Cape Colony: law concerning, iii 290 *et seq.*

Comoro Islands: description of in 1500, i 194

Compass: variations of at False Cape, Cape Agulhas, and Cape of Good Hope, i 402

Complaints of the Cape colonists concerning the government of W. A. van der Stel: particulars of, ii 402; concerning the government of J. van Plettenberg, iii 115; results of, iii 147

Condition of the Cape Colony: in 1781, iii 123; and in 1793, iii 237

Condition of the Netherlands in 1794, iii 245

Conditions under which in 1657 some of the Company's servants became colonists in the Cape peninsula, ii 62

Conflict between Europeans and Xosas in 1702, ii 396

Congo river, the: in 1484 is reached, i 202

Consistory or ecclesiastical court of each congregation of the Dutch reformed church in South Africa: is composed of a political commissioner, the clergyman, the elders, and the deacons, ii 150; it is subordinate to the council of policy, ib.

Conspiracy in 1729 of a party of soldiers to desert from the garrison of the Cape, ii 486; they are tried and four of them are executed on the day of Governor Noodt's death, ii 487

Constantia: in 1685 the farm so called is granted to Commander Simon van der Stel by the high commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, ii 276; after the death of Simon van der Stel it is divided into the two estates ever since known as Great and Little Constantia, ii 383; successive owners of Great Constantia, ib.

Constantino do Rosario, Friar, son of the monomotapa: particulars concerning, iii 320 *et seq.*

Convicts: use made of by the Portuguese, i 202, 214, and 477; and by the English, i 430 and 431

Cook, Captain: in 1771 visits the Cape, iii 152; also in 1772, 1775, and 1776, iii 153; note on books written by, iii 394

Copper: is used by the Bantu for ornaments, i 160; is plentiful in South-Eastern Africa, i 351

Copper mountain in Little Namaqualand: in 1685 is visited by Commander Simon van der Stel, ii 285

Copper ore: in 1681 specimens are brought to the Cape by Namaqua Hottentots, ii 255

Corbin, French ship: in May 1601 sails from St. Malo, and in July 1602 is lost at the Maldives, i 393

Cornfarms in the Cape Colony: description of in 1795, iii 298

Correa, Thomé de Sousa: in 1688 becomes governor of Mozambique and the Rivers, i 490

Corruption: of many of the servants of the Dutch East India Company, particulars concerning, ii 360 and 489; prevalence of among Portuguese officials in South-Eastern Africa, iii 323

Corte Real, Antonio Monteiro: assists in the defence of Fort São Sebastião against the Dutch, i 412

Cory, a Hottentot: is taken to England, where he receives many presents, i 429; in 1614 returns to the Cape, resumes his former habits, and teaches his countrymen to despise bits of copper as payment for cattle, ib.; comes to an evil end, i 430

da Costa, André: is a member of the first band of missionaries in South Africa, i 306 and 312
da Costa, Dom Rodrigo, governor-general of Portuguese India: mention of, i 500
Cotão, Bartholomeu, an engineer: constructs a stockade at Kilimane, i 466
Cotton: grows wild on the banks of the Zambesi, from which machiras are manufactured, i 351; experiment at the Cape in the cultivation of, iii 38
Council of policy at the Cape: in 1652 is composed of the commander and three or four subordinate officers, ii 14; in 1685 is enlarged by the lord of Mydrecht and made to consist of eight members, ii 270
Court of commissioners for the trial of petty cases at the Cape: in 1682 is created, and made to consist of two servants of the Company and two burghers, ii 265
Court of justice at the Cape: constitution in 1656 of, ii 59
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Courts of landdrost and heemraden in the Cape Colony: in 1685 the first is created, ii 271
Coutinho, Dom Jeronymo: mention of, i 416
Coutinho, José da Fonseca: oppressive conduct of in 1701, iii 318
Coutinho, Manuel: in 1563 is appointed ecclesiastical administrator of Mozambique, i 314
de Couto, Jeronymo: is one of the founders of the Dominican establishment in South-Eastern Africa, i 342
Cowley, Captain: note on a pamphlet written by, iii 380
Craig, Major-General James Henry: in June 1795 arrives in Simon's Bay in command of a small body of English troops, iii 247; invites the government to place the colony under protection of Great Britain, iii 249; meets with a refusal, iii 250; continues negotiations, but without success, iii 251; on the 7th of August drives the Dutch forces under Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille from Muizenburg, and occupies that post, iii 264; on the 4th of September transfers the chief command of the land forces to Major-General Alured Clarke, iii 270; conducts the negotiations for the surrender of the colony, iii 272; and on the 16th of September receives possession of the castle and forts in Capetown, iii 273
Cranendonk, Abraham: in March 1715 assumes duty as secunde at the Cape, ii 437; in October 1721 dies, ii 454
de Cretzer, Cornelis: in 1661 is journalist of an exploring expedition that leaves Capetown, ii 116; in May 1666 becomes fiscal, ii 159; in March 1670 becomes secunde, ii 180; is a general favourite, ii 184; in April 1671 runs a brawler through the body, ii 185; makes his escape and returns to Europe, where he is tried, acquitted, and restored to the position of secunde, ib.; but on his way back to the Cape is captured by a corsair, and is taken to Algiers, where he is sold as a slave, ib.
Crime: communal responsibility for among the Bantu, i 102
Criminals: see Convicts

Croeser, Rev. G: in September 1754 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, iii 163; in November 1755 is transferred to Zwartland's church, ib.; in May 1770 dies, iii 165

Croissant, French ship: in May 1601 sails for India, and is lost on the Spanish coast on her return passage, i 393

Cross: in January 1576 is set up on Cape São Bras by Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, i 377; is asserted to have been seen in the sky by the army under the monomotapa Manusa, i 461; is erected at Plettenberg's Bay by the wrecked crew of the São Gonçalo, i 470

Crown Princess of Denmark, Danish ship: in 1752 is wrecked on the southern coast, iii 153

Crudop, Hendrik: in June 1670 becomes secretary to the council of policy at the Cape, ii 186; in November 1671 becomes a member of the council of policy, ii 192; in 1674 is appointed first president of the orphan chamber, ii 222; in February 1676 becomes secunde, ii 225; in June 1678 upon the death of Governor Bax becomes acting commander, ii 243; in June 1680 proceeds to India, ii 267

Cruelty: practised by the Bantu in divination, i 100

Cruse, Hieronymus: in 1663 accompanies the exploring expedition under Jonas de la Guerre, ii 136; in 1667 goes on a trading journey, ii 166; and again on another later in the same year, ib.; in 1668 is leader of a party that proceeds by sea from Table Bay to Mossel Bay, visits the Attaqua tribe farther eastward, and then marches overland to Capetown, ii 173; in another journey a little later has an encounter with a Bushman horde, ii 174; in 1670 is made prisoner by the French at Saldanha Bay, but is released after a short detention, ii 183; in July 1673 commands an expedition sent against the Cochoqua clan under Gonnema, ii 213; and again in April 1674, ii 216; in March 1676 commands an expedition sent against Bushmen, ii 231; in 1687 dies, ii 325

Cruythof, Pieter: in 1661 is leader of an exploring expedition, ii 111; and again in 1662, ii 133

da Cruz, Manuel, vicar general of the Dominicans in South Africa: mention of, i 463

Cruzado, gold, of King Sebastião: weight and value of, i 315; value of the silver cruzado, i 442

Cuama: see Kuama

da Cunha, Francisco, captain of the Gates: aids the monomotapa against rebels, i 436

da Cunha, Nuno: in 1596 becomes captain of Mozambique, i 362; fills the office a second time, i 454

da Cunha, Tristão: on the 6th of March 1506 sails from Lisbon with a fleet for India, and on the passage discovers the islands that bear his name, i 252; plunders and burns the town of Oja, makes Lamu tributary to Portugal, takes Brava after a desperate resistance, and pillages and burns it, i 252

Customs duties: (Portuguese South Africa) particulars concerning, i 189 and 362; in 1678 are first levied at the Cape, ii 243; are collected at the rate of five per cent ad valorem on imports by the fiscal Van Lynden for his own benefit, iii 190; an ad valorem duty of five per cent upon all imports and exports except in the Company's ships is levied after 1792 for the benefit of the Cape colonial revenue, iii 203

Dacha, or wild hemp: is used for smoking by the Bushmen, i 12; by the Hottentots, i 40; and by the Bantu, i 148
Dagverhaal van Jan van Riebeek: note on, iii 405
Dale, Sir Langham: reference to articles on stone implements written by, i 27
Dalrymple, A.: note on a pamphlet written by, iii 396
Damaqua tribe of Hottentots: is incorporated with the Amantinde clan of Xosas, iii 78
Damaraland: struggle between Bantu and Hottentots in, i 68 and 69
Damaras: see Hereros
Dambarare, trading and mission station south of the Zambesi: in 1692 is destroyed, i 496
Dampier, William: note on a book written by, iii 381
Danckert, Jan: in 1660 is leader of an exploring expedition, ii 110
Danes: in 1619 visit India for the first time, i 432
Dapper, Dr. O.: note on a book compiled by, iii 376
Dassen (Conies) Island: is so named by Sir Edward Michelburne, i 423
Davis, John: is chief pilot in the *Leeuw*, and writes an account of the voyage, i 402; is chief pilot of the first fleet fitted out by the English East India Company, i 422; is second in rank in Sir Edward Michelburne's expedition, ib.; in December 1605 is killed by Japanese pirates, ib.
Decreeten der Nationale Vergadering, representeerende het Volk van Nederland: note on, iii 405
Degrandpré, L.: note on a book written by, iii 399
Delagoa Bay: in 1544 is examined by Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira, i 299; is afterwards termed by the Portuguese the bay of Lourenço Marques, i 300; a trade, principally in ivory, is opened up by vessels sent yearly from Mozambique, i 300, 355, and 388; in 1623 is visited by the crew of a wrecked Portuguese ship, iii 74; in 1647 is again visited by the crews of wrecked Portuguese ships, iii 76; in 1687 is visited by Robert Everard, i 500; in 1688 is visited and examined by the Dutch galiot *Noord*, ii 299; is frequented by pirates, i 499; and by illicit traders, i 499 and 500; about the beginning of the eighteenth century the Portuguese abandon sending trading vessels from Mozambique to this part of the coast, ii 461; in March 1721 the mouth of the Espirito Santo and the northern shore is taken possession of by the Netherlands East India Company, ii 463; and a station is formed there as a dependency of the Cape Colony, ii 465; a fort is erected near the mouth of the Espirito Santo, ib.; heavy loss of life is occasioned by fever, ib.; some ivory and wax are obtained in trade, ib.; the fort is taken and pillaged by buccaneers, ii 466; a little gold and some copper ore are obtained in barter, ii 466 and 467; an exploring party discovers a charming country a

week's journey inland, but is attacked by blacks and obliged to put back, ii 467; the climate in the summer season is reputed to be one of the most deadly in the world, ii 468; experiments are made in the cultivation of sugar cane and indigo, ii 469; tracts of land along the rivers are purchased from the resident chiefs, ii 470; several blacks are sent to Capetown on a visit, ib.; in 1726 Fort Lydzaamheid is built, ii 471; the country in the immediate vicinity of the bay is explored, ib.; efforts to explore the interior of the country are still continued, but are unsuccessful, ii 472; in November 1727 sixteen soldiers desert and march overland to Inhambane, ii 474; in August 1728 sixty-two men conspire to rebel and desert, but are arrested in time and are punished with dreadful severity, ii 475; in April 1729 another disaster follows in the loss of thirty white men in a skirmish, ii 476; the abandonment of the post is resolved upon, ii 477; and in December 1730 is carried into effect, ib.; in 1731 and 1732 some trade is carried on here by a Dutch exploring expedition, ii 479; in 1755 the bay is temporarily occupied by a party of Portuguese, iii 329; in 1757 a Dutch vessel in distress puts in, and her crew remain here more than a year, iii 156 and 329; in 1776 the bay is occupied by an Austrian expedition, iii 330; in 1778 it is visited by a Dutch ship in distress, iii 158; in 1781 a Portuguese force expels the Austrians, iii 332; in 1787 a small fort is built and occupied by the Portuguese at the site of the present town of Lourenço Marques, iii 333; in 1794 a grant of land is obtained from a Bantu chief, ib; in 1796 the fort is destroyed by two French frigates, ib.; in 1799 the bay is reoccupied by the Portuguese, iii 334; at the close of the eighteenth century it is frequented by British and American whalers, iii 333

Delta of the Zambesi: description of the, i 195

Dentaffe, Captain: in 1795 is severely wounded at the Steenberg, iii 269

Deportation of worthless characters from the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, iii 113

Deputation sent to Holland by the Cape colonists in 1785: account of the, iii 169

van Dessin, J. N.: in 1761 bequeaths his library to the Cape Colony, and the bulk of his property to the orphan chamber, iii 44

Dessinian collection of books in the South African public library: account of, iii 45

van Deventer, M. L.: note on a pamphlet written by, iii 405

Dhlodhlo: relics of a Christian mission found at, i 497

Dialect of the Dutch language in use in South Africa: particulars concerning, iii 286 *et seq.*

Dias, Bartholomeu: in August 1486 sails from the Tagus with three small vessels, i 202; leaves his storeship near the equator, i 203; puts into Angra Pequena, ib.; puts into Angra das Voltas, where he remains five days, i 204; experiences stormy weather after leaving, ib.; reaches Angra dos Vaqueiros (Mossel Bay) on the southern coast, ib.; reaches the islet Santa Cruz, i 205; lands at the mouth of the Infante river, i 206; from this point turns homeward, i 207; discovers the Cape of Good Hope, ib.; rejoins his storeship, ib.; at Prince's Island rescues some wrecked Portuguese, ib.; touches at São Jorge da Mina, i 208; in December 1487 reaches Lisbon again, ib.; superintends the building of ships for another expedition, i 211; sails as captain of a caravel in company with Vasco da Gama, i 212; leaves Da Gama's fleet and proceeds to São Jorge da Mina, i 214; is appointed captain of a fort to be built at Sofala, and leaves Lisbon for that purpose in command of a ship in the fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, but is lost at sea, i 230

Diep River: in 1683 a cattle post is formed at, ii 266

Diogo, a son of the monomotapa: account of, i 437

Disease: is a factor in man's progress, i 3

Dispute between the consistories of the Dutch reformed and Lutheran churches in Capetown: is settled by decision of the directors, iii 233

Distress in the Cape garrison in 1654 from scarcity of food, ii 41

Divination: methods of practising among the Bantu, i 100

Doddington, English ship: in 1755 is wrecked on the Bird island, iii 153 *et seq.*

Doman, a Hottentot of the Goringhaiqua clan: learns Dutch, and in 1655 is employed as an interpreter, ii 51; in 1657 goes to Batavia, ii 73; in 1658 returns to the Cape, ii 81; in 1659 becomes leader of a troop of marauders, ii 92; and takes part in the murder of a colonist, ii 94; in 1660 interprets during the negotiations for peace between the Europeans and the Cape clans, ii 100; later in the same year goes as interpreter with an exploring party, ii 110

Dominicans: establish missions among the Bantu, i 342; particulars concerning their missions, i 455, 463, 467, 468, 485, 495, and 496, and iii 326 *et seq.*; in 1775 are removed from South-Eastern Africa, iii 327

Domingos, monomotapa: baptism of, i 478

Doncker: atlas of, iii 372

Downton, Captain Nicholas: in 1610 visits Table Bay, i 421; and again in 1614, i 429

Dows: trading vessels used by the Mohamedans in the Indian ocean, i 187

Drake, Sir Francis: is the first English navigator who sails round the world, i 394

Drakenstein: in 1687 is so named by Commander Simon van der Stel, ii 326; when it is first settled by Europeans, ib; in 1688 Huguenot immigrants are located there, ii 339; in December 1691 elders and deacons are appointed for a separate congregation there, ii 348; names of the most notable residents in 1691, ii 368 *et seq.*

Drakenstein church building: in 1717 is commenced, ii 454; and in 1720 is completed, ib.

Drawbacks to farming in the Cape Colony: mention of, iii 305

Dunn, E. J.: stone implements collected by, i 26

Dutch, the: in 1580 are shut out of the Lisbon market, i 397; endeavour to find a north-eastern passage to China, ib.; in 1595 send their first fleet to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, i 401; take possession of the Spice islands, i 412; are more successful traders than the Portuguese, i 421; in 1652 they occupy the Cape peninsula, i 478. See Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, and Mozambique

Dutch blood: proportion of in Cape colonists, iii 283 *et seq.*

Dutch East India Company: in 1602 is established, i 405 to 409; proposed alliance with the English East India Company, i 427

Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony, extension of: the first elders and deacons are approved by the government on the 22nd of August 1665 for the church in Capetown, ii 149; on the 20th of December 1686 for the church in Stellenbosch, ii 318; on the 30th of December 1691 for the church at Drakenstein, ii 348; on the 8th of October 1743 for Roodezand's church (now Tulbagh), ii 514; on the 8th of July 1745 for Zwartland's church (now Malmesbury), ib.; on the 13th of March 1792 for the church in Graaff-Reinet, iii 175; during the government of the East India Company the consistories are not permitted to form a presbytery, but an appeal in ecclesiastical matters can be made to the classis of Amsterdam, ii 425; in 1745, however, a combined ecclesiastical council meets in Capetown, ii 515; but is regarded with suspicion by many persons, ib.; it continues to hold yearly sessions until 1759, after which date it does not again assemble, ii 516; doctrine preached during the greater part of the eighteenth century, iii 307; no attempts are made by the clergy to convert the heathen, iii 308; form of public worship, ib.; in 1786 advanced evangelical views are introduced by the reverend Helperus Ritzema van Lier, iii 309; which have the effect of rousing the church from lethargy, iii 313

Earthenware: manufacture of by Bantu women, i 162

Earthquake in Capetown: in September 1695 and January 1696 shocks are felt, but cause no damage, ii 374; also in September 1739 and August 1749, iii 18; and again in July 1766, iii 50

East London: shell mound once to be found at, i 1

Ecclesiastical administrator for the country from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope: in 1612 the office is created, i 455; references to, i 485 and 495

Ecclesiastical court: see Consistory

van Echten, Rev. S.: in November 1732 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Stellenbosch congregation, ii 495; in June 1736 is transferred to Drakenstein, ii 496; in January 1753 returns to the Netherlands, iii 163

Education of children: see Schools

Eerste Schipvaert der Hollanders naer Oost Indien: note on book so called, iii 365

Efforts to fix the rolling sand on the Cape flats: particulars concerning, ii 482

Efforts to improve the breed of horses, horned cattle, and sheep at the Cape: particulars concerning, iii 227

Eighty-fourth British regiment of the line: in 1795 the second battalion assists in wresting the colony from the Dutch, iii 270

Egypt: position of at the beginning of the sixteenth century, i 200; in 1508 the sultan sends a great fleet under Emir Husain to operate against the Portuguese in India, i 254; which fleet is destroyed off Diu by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, i 254; in 1517 Egypt becomes part of the Turkish dominions

Elephant, Danish ship: in 1750 is wrecked on the southern coast, iii 15

Elephant River: in 1660 is visited and named, ii 110

Elizabeth, English ship: revolt in Table Bay of slaves on board, iii 32

Elphinstone, Admiral Sir George Keith: in June 1795 arrives in Simon's Bay with a fleet of nine ships of war, iii 246; in conjunction with General Craig invites the government to place the colony under protection of Great Britain, iii 249; meets with a refusal, iii 250; gives all possible assistance to the land forces in the operations that follow, iii 263; takes possession of three Dutch ships in Simon's Bay, iii 260; and later of four others in Table and Simon's bays, iii 274

Elzevier, Samuel: in April 1697 assumes duty as secunde at the Cape, ii 375; engages in farming for his private benefit, ii 401; is recalled by the directors, ii 410; in June 1707 ceases to hold office, ii 411; returns to Europe, ii 419; and is dismissed from the Company's service, ib.

Embo: Bantu name for Natal, i 390

Emozaide, followers of Zaide: accompany him from Arabia and form settlements on the East African coast, i 182

Empata: general seizure of goods by order of the monomotapa, i 347

English, the: expeditions of to India, i 394 to 396; make no attempt to explore South Africa, i 432; begin to frequent the coast of East Africa as traders, i 477; frequent Delagoa Bay, i 498 and 499

English divers: in 1727 are employed at the Cape, ii 485

English East India Company: project of alliance with the Dutch East India Company, i 427; project of establishing a joint refreshment station in South Africa, i 428

English episcopal church services: in 1749, 1751, 1752, and 1773 are held in the Dutch church in Capetown, iii 14

Englishmen in Pondoland in 1736: account of a party of three, ii 496

English River: the Espirito Santo, i 299

English sailors at Natal in 1685: account of, ii 293 *et seq.*

English traders: in 1714 are engaged on the south-eastern coast of Africa, ii 450

Equator, the: in 1471 is first crossed by the Portuguese, i 201

Erasmus, Dutch ship: in 1659 some persons conspire to seize this ship in Table Bay, ii 98

do Espirito Santo, Damião, Dominican friar: mention of, i 463

do Espirito Santo, Luis, Dominican friar: baptizes the monomotapa Manusa, i 459; is made prisoner by Kapranzine and is put to death, i 460

Ethiopia Oriental, by João dos Santos: is printed in 1609 in the Dominican convent at Evora, i 355

Eva, the first Hottentot to profess Christianity: as a girl is taken into Mr. Van Riebeek's household, ii 31; speaks Dutch fluently, and is employed as an interpreter, ii 73; in 1658 is the means of opening up a trade in cattle with the Cochoquas under Oedasoa, ii 85; in 1664 is baptized and married to a European, ii 157; after her husband's death leads a dissolute life, ii 220; in 1674 dies, ii 219; and is buried in the church, ii 220; some particulars concerning her children, ib.

Everaert, Pieter: in 1661 is in command of an expedition to the Namaquas, ii 116

Everard, Robert: in 1687 visits Delagoa Bay, i 500

Evertsen, Volkert: note on a pamphlet written by, iii 375

Expedition in 1790-1 in search of the missing people of the *Grosvenor*: account of, iii 161

Expenditure of the Cape Colony, statistics concerning: from 1700 to 1725, ii 435; in the middle of the eighteenth century, iii 42; from that time to 1780, iii 123; from 1781 to 1791, iii 184; and from 1792 to 1794, iii 206

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Exports of the Cape Colony, statistics concerning: from 1698 to 1706, 400; from 1706 to 1725, ii 456 to 458; from 1725 to 1750, iii 16; from 1751 to 1771, iii 98; from 1772 to 1780, iii 101; from 1781 to 1784, iii 151

Extension of the Cape Colony: in April 1652 the colony is planted in Table Valley, ii 14; in 1656 it is extended to Rondebosch, ii 55; in 1672 to Hottentots-Holland, ii 206; in 1678 to the Tigerberg, ii 242; in 1679 to Stellenbosch, ii 251; in 1687 to Drakenstein, ii 326; by the close of the seventeenth century the country nearly as far as the present village of Hermon is occupied by Europeans, ii 385; in 1700 graziers take possession of land at Riebeek's Kasteel, and the Tulbagh basin beyond the first range of mountains is occupied, ii 387; in 1710 the site of the present village of Caledon is occupied, ii 427; the graziers gradually push their way down the valley of the Breede river and along the banks of the Zonderend, ii 430; by the middle of the eighteenth century Europeans are to be found living as far north as the mouth of the Elephant river and as far east as the Great Brak river beyond Mossel Bay, iii 18; in 1770 the eastern boundary of the colony is declared to be Bruintjes Hoogte and the Gamtoos river, iii 57; in 1775 it is extended to the upper Fish river and the Bushman's river, iii 97; in 1778 to Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river

iii 107; in 1780 to the Fish river along its whole course, iii 112; in 1785 to the Tarka and Baviaans' rivers, iii 174
Extent of the portion of South Africa explored by the Dutch before 1795, iii 313

Faber, Lucas Sigismundus: in June 1769 is appointed landdrost of Stellenbosch, iii 53; in August 1773 dies, iii 166
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Gonnema, chief of a clan of the Cochoquas: in 1655 visits the Cape peninsula, ii 51; is called by the Europeans the black captain, ib.; sells to Mr. Van Riebeek a large number of oxen and sheep, ib.; in December 1670 visits the Cape peninsula, and through the thieving propensities of his followers causes a panic among the farmers at Wynberg, ii 190; in 1671 is accused of instigating the murder of two burghers, ii 191; in November 1672 plunders a party of European hunters, ii 212; in June 1673 murders eight burghers and a slave, ib.; seizes the Company's post at Saldanha Bay and murders four white men, ii 213; carries on war with the Europeans for four years, ii 233; in 1677 concludes peace with Governor Bax, ib.; in 1685 dies, ii 289

Gooch, W. D.: reference to article on stone implements written by, i 27

Good Hope, English ketch: in 1685 is wrecked at Port Natal, ii 293

Goodwin, Vaughan, an Englishman resident at Natal at the beginning of the eighteenth century: account of, ii 398

Goos: atlas of, iii 373

Gorachouqua clan of Hottentots: in 1652 is found in the neighbourhood of the Cape, ii 14; in 1659 engages in war with the Europeans, ii 92; in 1660 concludes peace with Commander Van Riebeek, ii 101

Gordon, Robert Jacob: in June 1777 arrives in the Cape Colony as a captain in the army, iii 106; travels in the interior, and towards the close of 1777 sees the Great river, iii 111; in 1778 visits the eastern frontier with the governor, iii 106; in 1779, in company with Lieutenant William Paterson, visits the mouth of the Great river, and names it the Orange, iii 111; in February 1780 becomes commandant of the garrison, iii 124; (now Colonel) in 1795 is commander in chief at the Cape, iii 244; from June to September acts very feebly in opposition to the British forces, iii 274; after the surrender of the colony to the British forces commits suicide, iii 277

Goringhaikonas or Beachrangers: before the arrival of the Dutch in April 1652 are the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape peninsula, ii 13; number in all some fifty or sixty souls, ib.; are without property of any kind, ib.; are at feud with the Goringhaiquas, ii 17; the women and children perform various petty services for the white people, ii 37; in October 1653 the men murder the herd boy and run off with the Company's cattle, ii 38; in 1654 they return to Table Valley, ii 41; commit thefts from the Europeans, ii 56; further particulars concerning, ii 84, 157, 168, and 236; see Eva and Harry

Goringhaiquas or Kaapmans: in 1652 are found living in the neighbourhood of the Cape, ii 13; are at feud with the Goringhaikonas, ii 17; in October of this year commence to trade with the Europeans, ii 29; request assistance from the Dutch against their enemies, ii 31; in 1655 conduct themselves in a hostile manner, ii 47; in 1658 are suspected of assisting runaway slaves, ii 79; for which they are called to account, ii 80; in July 1658 they conclude a treaty of friendship with the Europeans, ii 83; in 1659 commence war with the white people, ii 92; in 1660 agree to terms of peace, ii 100; in 1687 are in such a dependent condition that their chief is selected by the commander, ii 324; see Doman, Gogosoa, and Schacher

Goske, Isbrand: in 1665 is commissioner at the Cape, and selects the site of the castle, ii 142; in 1671 again visits the Cape as commissioner, ii 184; in the same year is appointed governor, ii 194; in October 1672 arrives at the Cape and is received with all possible honour, ii 202; in March 1676 resigns the government and returns to Europe, ii 227

Goude Buys, Dutch ship: in 1693 is wrecked on the western coast, ii 376

Goukou: is paramount chief of the Hessequa tribe, ii 352; is allied with the Chainouqua clan under Dorha or Klaas, ib.; visits the Cape, ii 353; in 1697 is considered the most wealthy and powerful of all the chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Cape settlement, ib.

Gouriqua tribe of Hottentots: in 1667 is first visited by Europeans, ii 166

Gourits River: in 1667 is visited and named, ii 166

de Gouvea, Father Manuel: mention of, i 483 and 487

Government: see Form of

Government house in the garden, Capetown: is commenced to be built by Governor W. A. van der Stel, ii 387

Government loan bank: in 1793 is established in Capetown, iii 208

Graa, Jan Joris: in 1665 is sick-comforter at the Cape, ii 149

de Graaf, Nicolaus: note on a book written by, iii 380 van de Graaff, Cornlis Jacob: is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, iii 150; in February 1785 assumes the duty, ib.; has few qualifications for the post, iii 168; lives in a very extravagant style, iii 184; gives dissatisfaction to the directors, iii 186; is constantly quarrelling with the other members of the council, iii 187; would be dismissed in disgrace by the directors, but, being under the patronage of the stadtholder, can only be instructed to return to the Netherland to give information concerning the colony, iii 188; in June 179 embarks for Europe, and never returns, iii 189

Graaff-Reinet, district of: in December 1785 is formed, iii 174; a site is selected for the drostdy, iii 175; a board of heemraden is appointed, ib.; the inhabitants are chiefly cattle farmers, iii 176

Graaff-Reinet, Dutch reformed church at: in March 1792 is established, iii 175

Grain: manner of preserving by Bantu, i 148; in 1684 is first exported from the Cape settlement, ii 268

Granaat, Jacob: in 1670 becomes fiscal at the Cape, ii 180; in 1671 proceeds to Batavia, ii 185

Grass: gives place to bushy plants in the old settled districts of the Cape Colony, iii 9

Graves: of Heitsi-eibib, i 46

Graziers: manner of living of, iii 299 and 302

Great Namaqualand: in 1761 the southern portion is explored by an expedition under Hendrik Hop, iii 47; in 1791-2 the whole country is traversed and examined by an expedition under Willem van Reenen, iii 193

Great Winterhoek mountain: description of the, ii 386

Greeting: various forms of among Bantu, i 169

de Grevenbroek, Jan Willem: in 1684 becomes secretary of the council of policy, ii 267; in June 1694 leaves the Company's service and becomes a burgher, ii 375; is one of the opponents of Governor W. A. van der Stel, ii 403; note on a manuscript account of the Hottentots prepared by, iii 381

Grievances of the burghers of the Cape settlement in 1676, ii 224

Grigriqua tribe of Hottentots: in 1689 attack the Cochoqua, ii 354; in 1696 an expedition is sent from the Cape against these people, but does not find them, ii 355

Groenekloof: in 1701 a military post is formed at, ii 391; which in 1791 is withdrawn, iii 190

de Groot, Jacobus: in April 1700 becomes first Dutch schoolmaster and sick-comforter at Drakenstein, ii 394

Grooote Schuur: in 1657 is built, ii 75

Grootvadersbosch: in 1744 a sick-comforter is stationed at this place, ii 512

Grosvenor, English ship: in 1782 is wrecked on the coast of Kaffirland, iii 159

Grundel, the, Dutch vessel: in 1669 examines the south-western coast, ii 177; and in 1670 the southern and south-eastern coasts, ib.; in 1673 is wrecked on the southern coast, ii 218

Guardian, English ship: in 1789 meets with a great disaster after leaving Table Bay, iii 197 da Guerra, Salvador Vaz, captain of Mozambique: mention of, i 449

de la Guerre, Jonas: in 1663 is leader of an exploring expedition from the Cape, ii 136

Guião, Manuel Gonçalves, a prazoholder: rebellious conduct of, iii 318

Guilds: are formed among Bantu youths, i 113

Gunukwebe clan of Xosas: formation of, iii 79; in 1779 is at war with the Cape Colony, iii 128; and again in 1789 and following years, iii 178

Gwali, founder of the Amagwali clan of Xosas: line of descent of, iii 79; moves westward to the bank of the Little Fish river, where with his own clan and the Amantinde he encounters a party of Europeans, iii 80

Gwanya, Pondomsi chief: mention of, i 84

Haagsche Besoignes (committee of the Dutch East India Company): duties of, ii 4

Haarlem, the, Dutch ship: in 1647 is wrecked in Table Bay, ii 2. Another ship of the same name is wrecked in Table Bay in July 1728, ii 492

Habits of the Cape colonists: particulars concerning, iii 300

Hacker, Pieter: in January 1777 assumes duty at the Cape as secunde, iii 105; in August 1786 retires, iii 187

Hackius, Pieter: in 1669 is appointed commander of the Cape settlement, ii 181; in March 1670 assumes the duty, ib.; in November 1671 dies, ii 191; and is buried in the church, ib.

van der Hagen, Steven: in December 1603 leaves Holland with a strong armed fleet, i 410; in June 1604 arrives at Mozambique and commences a siege of Fort São Sebastião, i 411; in August abandons the siege and sails for India, i 412; wrests the Spice islands from the Portuguese, ib.

Hahn, Dr. Theophilus: reference to researches of, i 46 and 53

Hair, the: modes of dressing by the Bantu, i 157

Hakluyt, Richard: note on books published by, iii 365

Halfbreeds in Pondoland: account of, ii 498

Hall, Mr. R. N.: reference to researches of, i 63

Harders, Rev. R.: in January 1758 calls at the Cape and is appointed clergyman of Roodezand's church, iii 164; in June 1774 retires on a pension, iii 165

van Harn, Gerrit: in 1660 is appointed commander of the Cape settlement, but in 1661 dies on the passage out, ii 121

Harry, a Hottentot of the Goringhaikona clan: in 1652 is found living in Table Valley, ii 13; has been to Bantam in an English ship, and speaks a little English, ib.; is employed as an interpreter by Mr. Van Riebeek, ib.; in October 1653 takes part in an act of murder and robbery, ii 38; runs away from Table Valley, ib.; in June 1655 returns to the fort, ii 49; in September of the same year goes on a journey to purchase cattle for the East India Company, ii 50; acts a dishonest part, ii 51; is difficult to deal with, ii 56; is made a prisoner by Mr. Van Riebeek, ii 82; and is transported to Robben Island, ii 84; in 1659 is brought from Robben Island to serve as guide and interpreter with a military expedition, but is sent back again, ii 95; he makes his escape in a boat to the mainland, ii 97; in 1660 interprets when peace is concluded between the Europeans and the Cape clans, ii 100; in 1663 dies, ii 139

Hartzogenrath, Rev. J. W.: in April 1731 arrives in South Africa, and assumes duty as clergyman of the Drakenstein congregation, ii 495; in June 1736 dies, ii 496

van Harwarden, Jan: in 1658 is leader of an exploring party from the Cape, ii 76; is promoted to be an ensign, ii 92; in February 1659 dies, ib.

Hats: are first made at the Cape by Isaac Taillefer, ii 443

Haukoin: see Berg Damaras

de la Haye, M., French admiral: in 1670 visits the Cape, ii 182; and takes forcible possession of the Company's post at Saldanha Bay on behalf of the French king, ii 183

Head rests: manufacture and use of by the Bantu, i 158

Heads of the Cape government: length of rule of each during the period 1652 to 1852, iii 60. Succession of: Jan van Riebeek, commander, from 8 April 1652 to 6 May 1662; Zacharias Wagenaar, commander, from 6 May 1662 to 27 September 1666; Cornelis van Quaelberg, commander, from 27 September 1666 to 18 June 1668; Jacob Borghorst, commander, from 18 June 1668 to 25 March 1670; Pieter Hackius, commander, from 25 March 1670 to 30 November 1671; vacancy to 25 March 1672; Albert van Breugel, acting commander, from 25 March to 2 October 1672; Isbrand Goske, governor, from 2 October 1672 to 14 March 1676; Johan Bax, governor, from 14 March 1676 to 29 June 1678; Hendrik Crudop, acting commander, from 29 June 1678 to 12 October 1679; Simon van der Stel, commander, from 12 October 1679 to 1 June 1691, governor, from 1 June 1691 to 11 February 1699; Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, governor, from 11 February 1699 to 3 June 1707; Johan Cornelis d'Ableing, secunde acting as governor, from 3 June 1707 to 1 February 1708; Louis van Assenburgh, governor, from 1 February 1708 to 27 December 1711; Willem Helot, secunde acting as governor, from 28 December 1711 to 28 March 1714; Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, governor, from 28 March 1714 to 8 September 1724; Jan de la Fontaine, secunde acting as governor, from 8 September 1724 to 25 February 1727; Pieter Gysbert Noodt, governor, from 25 February 1727 to 23 April 1729; Jan de la Fontaine, secunde acting as governor, from 24 April 1729 to 8 March 1730, governor, from 8 March 1730 to 31 August 1737; Adriaan van Kervel, governor, from 31 August to 19 September 1737; Daniel van den Henghel, fiscal independent acting as governor, from 20 September 1737 to 14 April 1739; Hendrik Swellengrebel, governor, from 14 April 1739 to 27 February 1751; Ryk Tulbagh, governor, from 27 February 1751 to 11 August 1771; Joachim van Plettenberg, secunde acting as governor, from 12 August 1771 to 18 May 1774, governor, from 18 May 1774 to 14 February 1785; Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff, governor, from 14 February 1785 to 24 June 1791; Johan Isaac Rhenius, secunde acting as governor, from 24 June 1791 to 3

July 1792; Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh and Simon Hendrik Frykenius, commissioners-general, from 3 July 1792 to 2 September 1793; Abraham Josias Sluysken, commissioner-general, from 2 September 1793 to 16 September 1795

Heemraden of Stellenbosch, board of: in August 1682 is established, and has certain duties assigned to it, ii 258; half the members retire yearly, and are succeeded by others selected by the council of policy from a double list of names submitted by the board, ib.; in 1685 a landdrost is appointed, who presides at the meetings of the board, ii 271

Helot, Willem: in April 1710 assumes duty as secunde at the Cape, ii 427; in December 1711, on the death of Mr. Van Assenburgh, is chosen to act provisionally as head of the government, ii 430; in May 1714 is suspended from duty, ii 437; and is afterwards dismissed from the Company's service, ib.

Hemmy, Otto Luder: in April 1774 assumes duty as secunde at the Cape, iii 96; in January 1777 dies, iii 105

Hemp: experiment in the cultivation of at the Cape, ii 263

van den Henghel, Daniel: is appointed fiscal independent at the Cape, ii 487; in March 1731 assumes duty, ii 502; upon the death of Mr. Van Kervel is chosen to act provisionally as head of the government, ii 503; is required by the directors to confine himself to the duty of fiscal independent, ii 507; in 1741 returns to Europe, ib.

Henrique, Cardinal Dom: in 1562 becomes regent of Portugal, i 314; in 1578 becomes king of Portugal, i 341; in January 1580 dies, ib.

Henrique, Dom, prince of Portugal: is a warm promoter of exploration, i 201; on the 13th of November 1460 dies, ib.

Herbalists, Bantu: remedies used by, i 99

Hereros (Damaras): in 1791-2 are visited by Willem van Reenen's expedition, iii 194; are found to have been thoroughly impoverished by wars with the Namaqua Hottentots, ib.

Hesse, Elias: note on a book written by, iii 380

Hessequa tribe of Hottentots: in 1661 send a messenger to the Cape, ii 127; in 1662 send cattle to the fort for sale, ii 133; in 1693 are plundered by the Attaquas, ii 355; in 1793 members of this tribe are collected by Moravian missionaries at Genadendal, iii 229; see Goukou

Het Ontroerd Holland: note on the book so called, iii 388

High court of justice of the Cape Colony: in 1685 is made to consist of eight servants of the Company and two burghers, ii 270; in 1786 is remodelled and made to consist of the secunde as president, six servants of the Company, and six burghers, iii 169

Hillier, Dr. Alfred: reference to researches by, i 10

Hintsa, Xosa chief: at the death of his father Kawuta is a mere child, iii 92

Hlonipa custom: mention of, i 72

Hofmeyr, Rev. Stephanus: reference to, i 61

van Hogendorp, G. K.: note on a book compiled by, iii 401

Holland, Dutch ship: in 1786 is wrecked in Table Bay, iii 195

Homem, Vasco Fernandes: is second in command of the expedition under Francisco Barreto, i 317 to 334; succeeds Francisco Barreto as governor and captain general of Eastern Africa, i 334; enters the kiteve's country with an army by way of Sofala and vanquishes the kiteve's forces, i 335; is welcomed in the tshikanga's territory and makes a friendly agreement with the chief, ib.; makes peace with the kiteve, i 336; proceeds up the Zambesi and then returns to Mozambique, i 337

Hondeklip Bay: in 1685 is visited by Commander Simon van der Stel, ii 288

Hondius, Henry. atlas of, iii 372

Hondius, J.: note on a pamphlet published by, iii 373

van Hoorn, Joan, recently governor-general of Netherlands India: in 1710 visits the Cape as commissioner, ii 423

Hop, Hendrik, captain of burgher militia: in 1761 leads an exploring expedition into Great Namaqualand, iii 46

Hops: experiments in the cultivation of at the Cape, ii 319 and 374

Horak, J. A.: in April 1749 is appointed landdrost of Swellendam, iii 83; in 1766 leaves the Company's service and becomes a burgher, iii 53

Horn implements: are used by the Bushmen, i 13

Horses: in 1653 the first are brought to the Cape from Batavia, ii 38; particulars concerning the importation and prices of, ii 46, 97, and 158; as the Javanese horses have deteriorated, in 1689 some are brought from Persia to improve the breed, ii 357; in 1769 horses are first exported from South Africa, iii 100

Horse-sickness: in 1719 the first outbreak is recorded in the Cape settlement, ii 448

Hospital at Mozambique: in 1681 is entrusted to the order of Saint John of God, i 494

Hospital in Capetown: in 1656 one is built between the fort Good Hope and the shore of Table Bay, ii 54; which becomes dilapidated, so in 1697 another is commenced at the bottom of the Company's garden, and in 1699 is opened for use, ii 375; in 1772 a very large hospital is commenced to be built, iii 97; in July 1781 it is first used as a barrack for the regiment of Pondicherry, iii 139

Hot springs at Caledon: in the first decade of the eighteenth century begin to be used by persons troubled with rheumatism, ii 427

Hottentots: affinity of language to that of sections of the inhabitants of North Africa, i 28
- amount of happiness enjoyed, i 52
- amusements and games, i 52
- are favourably described by Janssen and Proot, ii 4
- are partly of the same stock as Bushmen, but separated from them at a remote time, i 29
- are recent immigrants into Africa south of the Zambesi, i 4 and 28
- are regarded by the Portuguese as ferocious savages and avoided, i 351
- are seldom met with by the Portuguese, i 70
- articles of diet, i 40

assist the colonists against the Bushmen, ii 391
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first intercourse with Europeans, i 216
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form of worship, ii 50
in 1505 kill sixteen Portuguese at Flesh Bay, i 263
in 1713 perish in great numbers from small-pox, ii 433
in 1647 sell great numbers of cattle to the wrecked people of the *Haarlem* in Table Valley, ii 2
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kill many Portuguese in battle near Table Valley, i 257
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migrated (almost certainly from Somaliland to Central Africa), then after a long time from some locality in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, i 30; travelled south-westward until they reached the Atlantic, i 31; then turned southward along the coast, i 32; left sections behind at intervals, ib.; incorporated Bushman girls all along the line of march, i 33; at the Cape of Good Hope turned eastward, ib.; and proceeded along the shore of the Indian ocean to the mouth of the Umtamvuna river, i 34
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56, 64, 68, 71, 104 to 107, 111 to 114, 118, 119, 132, 154 to 157, 168, 197, 210, 234 to 238, 254, 274, 275, 283, 350, 354 to 356, 391, 393, 431, 447, 484, 503, and 504, iii 53, 54, 69, 104, 126, 227, and 314
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Hottentots-Holland: in 1657 is visited by Europeans and named, ii 70; in 1670 its occupation by Europeans is authorised by the commissioner Van den Broeck, ii 178; in 1672 a farming establishment is formed there, ii 206

Houtman, Cornelis, commander of the first Dutch fleet that sailed to India: mention of, i 401

Hubner, Hermanus: in 1736 is leader of a party of elephant hunters, ii 496; penetrates the Kaffir country deeply, ib.; with five others is murdered at the kraal of the Xosa chief Palo, ii 497

Huguenot immigrants: in 1688 the first arrive in South Africa, ii 337; names of those who settled in South Africa in 1688 and 1689, ii 342 and 343

Hulsenaar, Rev. P.: in March 1676 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 240; in December 1677 dies, ib.

Hunger: is a factor in man's progress, i 3

Hunting: method of by Bantu, i 149

Husain, Emir: commands a great war fleet sent by the sultan of

Egypt in 1508 to operate against the Portuguese in India, i 254; defeats a fleet under Dom Lourenço d'Almeida in the harbour of Chaul, ib.; but is utterly defeated himself on the 2nd of February 1509 by Dom Francisco d'Almeida off Diu, ib.

Huts, Bantu: description of, i 153

Huysers, Ary: note on a book written by, iii 399

Ibn Batuta: information derived from, i 184

Iceya, a Hottentot game: description of, i 52 and 168

Imfumba, a game of Bantu children: description of, i 168

Imhoff battery: in November 1744 is commenced, and in July 1745 is completed, iii 2

van Imhoff, Gustaf Willem, governor-general of Netherlands India: in 1743 on his passage out visits the Cape, where he exercises supreme control during the period of his stay, and issues many important orders, ii 511

Imidange clan of Xosas: formation of, iii 77; in 1779 is at war with the Cape Colony, iii 128; also in 1789 and following years, iii 178

Imidushane clan of Xosas: formation of, iii 91

Immigrants from Europe: in 1657 several servants of the Dutch East India Company become colonists in the Cape peninsula, ii 61 *et seq.;* in 1671 and 1672 a few families arrive from the Netherlands, ii 187; also in 1676 and 1677, ii 245; in 1685 and two years thereafter some families and a few orphan girls arrive from the Netherlands, ii 313 *et seq.;* in 1688 and following few years three or four hundred French and Dutch immigrants arrive, ii 333 *et seq.;* during the early years of the eighteenth century a few families arrive every summer, ii 400; upon the abandonment of Mauritius in 1710 nine families remove from that island to the Cape Colony, ii 423; very few arrive after 1711, but many servants of the Company are discharged and become burghers, ii 430

Immigrants of coloured blood: in 1658 a number from the west coast of Africa arrive at the Cape as slaves, ii 78; thereafter many are introduced as slaves from Madagascar and Ceylon, ii 238; during the early years of the eighteenth century many slaves are introduced from Madagascar and Mozambique, ii 400; during the remainder of the century many are introduced from the Indian islands, the east coast of Africa, and especially from Madagascar, iii 31

Incest as regarded by the Bantu, i 120

Indian commerce with Europe: routes of at the beginning of the sixteenth century, i 200

Indice Chronologico das Navegaçoes dos Portuguezes: note on the book so called, iii 367

Indigo: experiments at the Cape in the cultivation of, ii 263 and 444, iii 38

Indwe, the blue crane: the wings of this bird are worn by Xosa warriors as an emblem of bravery, i 116

Infante River: is the farthest point reached by Bartholomeu Dias, i 207

Ingomiamo River: position of, i 198

Inhambane: in 1500 the Mohamedan half-breeds have a small settlement at, i 198; after 1544 is frequented by the Portuguese for purposes of trade, i 300; is visited by the first missionaries in South Africa, i 307; particulars of the trade carried on there, ii 462; in 1623 is visited by the crew of a wrecked Portuguese ship, iii 75; in 1727 is visited by a Dutch vessel, ii 472; and again in 1728, ii 474; in 1730 is occupied by the Portuguese and a fort is built, ii 479; in October 1731 is visited by an expedition from the Cape, ib.; description of in 1771, iii 324

Inheritance: law of in the Cape Colony, iii 291 *et seq.*

Inqua tribe of Hottentots: in 1689 is visited by Europeans, ii 305 *et seq.*

Insurrection along the Zambesi in 1701-9: account of, iii 318

Insurrection of a party of Europeans in the Cape Colony in 1739, under leadership of Etienne Barbier: account of, ii 503 *et seq.*

Intaba-ka-Ndoda: in the middle of the eighteenth century is called by the Cape colonists Kaffirland's Berg, iii 89

Intoxicants: used by the Bushmen, i 12; by the Hottentots, i 40

Inyabanzo, district close to Tete: is bestowed by the monomotapa upon Diogo Simões Madeira, i 436; later occurrences at, i 437

Inyaka, the: is chief of the tribe on the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay, i 299; is friendly to the Portuguese, i 299, 366, and 381

Inyansata Island: mention of, i 197

Iron: use made of by the Hottentots, i 42; and by the Bantu, i 158; is plentiful in South-Eastern Africa, i 351

Irrigation works of ancient times: ruins of, i 178

Islands of Dina and Marseveen: in 1699 a vessel is sent from the Cape to search for these islands, but returns without finding them, ii 384

Isuf, sheik of Sofala: particulars concerning, i 186, 264, and 269

Ivory: armrings of this material are prized by the Bantu, i 150; particulars of the trade by the Portuguese in, i 288, 297, 299, 301, 355, 360, 361, 411, 499, and 500; price of at the Cape in 1753, iii 30

van Jaarsveld, Adriaan: in 1770 is leader of a commando against Bushmen, iii 56; in October 1780 is appointed commandant of the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, iii 129; brings the first war with the Xosas to a conclusion, iii 131; causes a volley to be fired into a party of Kaffirs scrambling for tobacco, iii 215; in 1795 is one of the leaders of the Nationals in Graaff-Reinet, iii 240; in August 1795 is appointed chief military officer by the Nationals of Graaff-Reinet, iii 242

Jaka, the party of girls at an intonjane ceremony: description of, i 116

James I, king of England: in 1620 is proclaimed sovereign of the country from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian prince, i 426

James, Silas: note on a book written by, iii 398

Jan Bloem, captain of the Springbok clan of Koranas: career of, iii 340, 352, and 355; in 1799 dies of poison, and is succeeded by his son Jan Bloem II, iii 355

Janssen, David: in October 1653 is murdered by Hottentots in Table Valley, ii 38

Janssen, Leendert: in 1647 is wrecked in Table Bay, and remains there several months, ii 2; in 1649 presents to the chamber of Amsterdam a memorial upon the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley, ib.

Jesus, Company of: on the 27th of September 1540 comes into existence, i 305; in 1542 founds a college at Coimbra, ib.; carries on mission work in South Africa, i 306, 455, 467, 485, 493, and 494; in 1759 its members are expelled from South-Eastern Africa, iii 327; in 1773 the order is suppressed, ib.

Jetty: in 1656 the first is constructed in Table Bay, ii 54

Joanna, English ship: in 1682 is wrecked on the southern coast, ii 264

João II: in 1481 ascends the throne of Portugal, i 201; on the 25th of October 1495 dies, i 210

João III: in December 1521 becomes king of Portugal, i 290; in June 1557 dies, i 302

João IV, duke of Bragança: in December 1640 becomes king of Portugal, i 473; in November 1656 dies, i 479

Johnson, Captain: in 1620 inspects Table Bay, and reports unfavourably upon it, i 428 and 429

Johnstone, Commodore George: in 1781 is sent from England with a large force to take possession of the Cape Colony, iii 134; brings his fleet to anchor in Porto Praya roads, ib.; where he is attacked by a French fleet under Acting Commodore Suffren, iii 135; he beats off his assailants, iii 137; but is unable to pursue them at once, iii 138; sails for the Cape as soon as he refits his ships, iii 140; learns from the crew of a prize that there is a strong French garrison in the colony, iii 141; captures several Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay, ib.; and returns to Europe, iii 142

de Jong, C.: note on a book written by, iii 400

de Jonge, J. K. J.: note on a valuable book written by, iii 366

Jonker Afrikaner, Hottentot chief: particulars concerning, i 69

Josepe of Lamego: travels of, i 209

Jourdain, John: in 1608 visits Table Valley, i 424; and again in 1617, i 430; ascends Table Mountain, i 424

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Journey: of the people wrecked in the *Santo Alberto* to Delagoa Bay, i 384 to 389; of the people wrecked in the *São João* to Delagoa Bay, i 365 to 368; of the people wrecked in the *São Bento* to Delagoa Bay, i 370 to 374; of the people wrecked in the *São Thomé*, i 381 to 383; of Dr. Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida from Tete to the country of the chief Kazembe, iii 335

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Justice: administration of by the captains of Sofala, Sena, and Tete, i 469

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Kaffirs: name, meaning infidels, given to the Bantu by the Mohamedans, i 185
Kalden, Rev. P.: in December 1695 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 375; carries on farming operations largely for his private benefit, ii 402; is recalled by the directors, and in April 1707 ceases to preach, ii 410; returns to Europe, and is dismissed from the Company's service, ii 419. (He was afterwards reinstated and sent to India, where he performed the duty of a clergyman for many years. In the Cape Colony he was a student of the Hottentot language, but had not entirely mastered it when he was obliged to leave. His object was to try to improve the moral condition of the barbarians around him. The only respect in which he was proved to have erred in South Africa was in working a farm at a great distance from his proper place of residence, and not making the authorities in Holland acquainted with that fact).
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Kat River: in 1752 is visited by an exploring party, iii 89
Kawuta, Xosa chief: about the year 1790 succeeds his father Gcaleka, iii 92; about the year 1804 dies, ib.
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Kees, Hottentot captain: in 1793 is believed to be promoting sedition in the district of Swellendam, iii 227; is confined in Capetown as a political prisoner, ib.
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Kerguelen, Captain: in 1773 and 1774 visits the Cape, iii 153
van Kervel, Adriaan: after long service at the Cape, in June 1724 is appointed fiscal independent, ii 455; in March 1730 becomes secunde, ii 487; in August 1737 becomes governor of the Cape Colony, ii 500; holds the highest office in the land less than three weeks, ii 501; in September 1737 dies, ib.; his remains are interred beneath the pavement of the church, ib.
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Khami: cross found at, i 497
Kilimane River: description of, i 195; in January 1498 is entered by Vasco da Gama, i 221; in 1544 a Portuguese factory is founded on the banks of, i 298; further particulars concerning, i 321, 466, and 474

Kilwa: is occupied by Persians under a leader named Ali, i 183; duties on commerce at, i 189; description of, i 193; is visited by the fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, i 231; occurrences during the stay of the fleet, ib.; in 1502 is visited by Dom Vasco da Gama, i 238; transactions of Dom Vasco there, ib.; in 1505 is visited by Lopo Soares d'Albergaria on his return passage from India, i 242; the emir refuses to pay tribute to Portugal, ib.; in July 1505 is seized and plundered by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, i 246; a fort is built and occupied there, ib.; and a government is established tributary to Portugal, i 247; events at, i 273, 275, and 280; is abandoned by the Portuguese, i 283; further particulars concerning, i 319 and 353

Kindersley, Mrs.: note on a book written by, iii 390

Kirman hair: experiment in the production of at the Cape, ii 483

Kirsten, J. F.: in May 1761 is appointed resident at Simonstown, iii 52; in May 1774 is promoted to another post, iii 167

Kiteve, the, chief of the tribe occupying the coast belt of land about Sofala: particulars concerning, i 311, 335, 336, 345, 346, 467, and 476

Kiteve country: in 1774 is overrun by a horde from the north, iii 320

Klaas or Dorha: in 1672 is one of the captains of the Chainouqua tribe, ii 210; is attached to the Europeans, ib.; is protected by the Dutch East India Company, ii 211; in 1678 assists in the war against Gonnema, ii 214; in 1682 shows kindness to shipwrecked Englishmen, ii 264; and in 1690 to wrecked Dutch seamen, ii 310; in 1686 massacres some Bushmen, ii 322; loses favour with the colonial government, ii 351; in 1693 is made prisoner and brought before the council of policy, ii 352; is sent to Robben Island, ii 353; after a time is released from confinement and permitted to live near Muizenburg, ib.; is subsequently allowed to return to his old kraal, ib.; resumes a feud with his rival Koopman, ib.; with the assistance of the Hessequas attacks Koopman and takes his cattle, ii 354; lives thereafter in constant strife until he is killed in 1701 in a skirmish with Koopman, ib.

Klapmuts: receives its name from its shape, ii 74; in 1683 a cattle post is formed there, ii 266

Knives: manufacture of by Bantu, i 159

Knysna: in November 1778 is visited by Governor Van Plettenberg, iii 110

Kock, Rev. H.: in April 1732 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 495; in February 1742 returns to Europe, ii 513

Kok, Adam I: account of, iii 353

Kok, Cornelis I: account of, iii 353; he protects the Batlapin tribe, iii 354

Kolbe, P.: note on a book written by, iii 387

Kolver, Rev. A.: in November 1780 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as first Lutheran minister in Capetown, iii 166

de Koning, Jan: in May 1726 becomes commander of the Dutch post at Delagoa Bay, ii 469; early in 1727 dies, ii 472

Koonap River: in 1752 is visited by an exploring party, iii 89

Koopman: in 1672 is captain of one of the Chainouqua clans, ii 210; accuses his rival Klaas of enmity to the government, ii 352 becomes an ally of the honourable East India Company, ib.; requests aid against Klaas, ib.; in conjunction with a colonial commando attacks Klaas and seizes his cattle, ib.; takes Klaas's wife from him, ii 353; and puts her to death, ii 354; quarrels continually with Klaas until his rival is killed in a skirmish, ib.

Korana clans: migrate from the neighbourhood of the Cape peninsula and settle on the plateau south of the Orange river, ii 246 and iii 337; where they are constantly engaged in strife with each other, iii 338; and with the Bushmen, ib.; they live chiefly upon milk, wild plants, and the proceeds of the chase, ib.; about 1775 some of them cross the Orange river and wander about in the territory north of that stream, iii 339

Kraal: origin of the word, ii 51

Kraals, Bantu: favourite sites for, i 152

Kramat or tomb of Sheik Joseph: particulars concerning, ii 263

Kroonenburg, Rev. H: in October 1752 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, iii 162; in December 1778 retires on a pension, iii 163

Kuama, delta: description of, i 195; in 1641 is acknowledged by the Dutch as Portuguese territory, i 474

Kuilen: in 1683 a cattle post is formed there, ii 266

Kuys, Rev. J. A.: in April 1777 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of Roodezand's church, iii 165; is transferred to Capetown, where in May 1794 he assumes duty, iii 233

Kuys, Rev. P.: in April 1777 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Stellenbosch congregation, iii 164; in February 1785 dies, ib.

Kwane, founder of the Gunukwebe clan of mixed Xosa and Hottentot blood: account of, iii 79

Kwitambo, Bantu chief: mention of, i 443

Kwizura, Bantu chief: war of the Portuguese with, i 354

Lacerda e Almeida, Dr. Francisco José de: in 1798 conducts an expedition to the country of the chief Kazembe, iii 335; where he dies, iii 336; the expedition then returns to Tete, ib.

Lacus, Hendrik: in 1660 is appointed secretary of the council of policy at the Cape, ii 124; in May 1666 becomes secunde, ii 159; in September 1667 is suspended from duty, ii 170; and in March 1670 is reduced to the rank of a soldier and sent to Batavia, ii 171

Lamu: in 1506 is made tributary to Portugal by Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Alboquerque, i 252

Lancaster, Captain James: in 1591 visits Table Bay, i 396; and again in 1601, i 422

Lançarote, Dom Antonio, son of the kiteve: mention of, i 498

Land: tenure of among Bantu, i 151

Landdrost: in 1685 the first is appointed to Stellenbosch, ii 271

Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, succession of officers who held the situation of: Jan Mulder, July 1685 to June 1691; Cornelis Linnes, June 1691 to January 1695; vacancy, during which the senior heemraad acted as president of the court and the secretary collected the revenue and conducted the correspondence; Hendrik Munkerus, August 1696 to July 1698; Michiel Ditmar, July 1698 to February 1703; Pieter Robberts, February 1703 to July 1705; Jan Starrenburg, July 1705 to April 1707; Samuel Martini de Meurs, April 1707 to March 1710; vacancy, during which the senior heemraad acted as president of the court and the secretary collected the revenue and conducted the correspondence; Jan Mulder, March 1711 to December 1712; Dominicus Blesius, December 1712 to May 1713; Nicolaas van den Heuvel, May 1713 to June 1717; Jacob Voet, June 1717 to October 1721; Marthinus Bergh, October 1721 to January 1728; vacancy, during which the senior heemraad acted as president of the court and the secretary collected the revenue and conducted the correspondence; Pieter Lourens, May 1729 to September 1748; Adriaan van Schoor, September 1748 to August 1763; Jacobus Johannes le Sueur, August 1763 to June 1769; Lucas Sigismundus Faber, June 1769 to August 1773; Abraham Faure (acting), August to October 1773; Marthinus Adriaan Bergh, October 1773 to December 1778; Olof Godlieb de Wet, December 1778 to February 1782; Daniel van Ryneveld, February 1782 to August 1785; Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman, August 1785 to November 1795

Landdrost of Swellendam, succession of officers who held the situation of: Johannes Theophilus Rhenius, August 1745 to April 1749; Jan Andries Horak, April 1749 to December 1766; Joachim Frederik Mentz, December 1766 to February 1776; Pieter Diederik Boonaker, February 1776 to May 1777; Daniel van Ryneveld, May 1777 to February 1782; Constantyn van Nuld Onkruydt, February 1782 to April 1789; Anthony Alexander Faure, April 1789 to his expulsion by the Nationals in June 1795; Hermanus Steyn (acting under the Nationals), June to November 1795

Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, succession of officers who held the situation of: Maurits Herman Otto Woeke, December 1785 to July 1792; Bernard Cornelis van Baalen (acting), September 1792 to May 1793; Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier, May 1793 to his expulsion by the Nationals in February 1795; Lambert Philip van der Poel (acting), April to July 1795; Carel David Gerotz (acting under the Nationals), August 1795 to July 1797

Landdrost and heemraden: duties and powers of the court of, iii 9 and 10; enlargement in 1779 of the powers of, iii 112

Land grants in the Cape Colony: record of, ii 436

Land measure: a morgen of land is equal to 2·11654 English acres or ·8565 of a hectare

Land rents in the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, ii 436

Land of Waveren (now Tulbagh basin): description of, ii 385 and 386; in 1699 is inspected and named by Governor W. A. van der Stel, ii 386; in 1700 is first occupied by Europeans, ii 387; in the same year a military post is formed there, ib.; which in 1743 is broken up, iii 12

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Langa, chief of the Amambala clan of Xosas: line of descent of, iii 80; in March 1789 is one of the chiefs who invade the Cape Colony, iii 178

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Leguat, François: note on a book written by, iii 383
Leibbrandt, Rev. H. C. V.: note on publications by, iii 405
Leitão, Captain Antonio Simões: in 1708 is killed in battle, iii 318
Leitão, Jeronymo: vessel under command of is captured and plundered in the Limpopo river, i 382
de Lemos, Bastião: rescues the crew of the wrecked ship *São Bento*, i 374
de Lemos, Duarte: in September 1508 sends a report to the king of Portugal upon the trade of Sofala, i 284
Length of passages between Europe and South Africa in the seventeenth century, ii 10
Leopard, the skin of the: is reserved for the dress of men of rank among the Bantu, i 157
Leonor, Dona, wife of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda: pitiful story of, i 364 to 367
Leprosy in South Africa: particulars concerning, iii 41; death of a sidanda from, i 350
Letters: are unknown to the Bantu, i 106
van Lier, Rev. H. R.: in September 1786 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, iii 233; is a man of great talent, iii 310; is a correspondent of the reverend John Newton, of Olney, ib.; some of his letters to that clergyman are translated into English by the poet Cowper and published, ib.; he introduces advanced evangelical ideas into the church at Capetown, ib.; is struck down by consumption, iii 311; and on the 21st of March 1793 dies, ib.; note on published sermons of, iii 403
de Lille, C. M. W.: in February 1771 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as a captain in the garrison of Capetown, iii 124; in the events of August and September 1795 plays a feeble part, iii 264; is accused of treason by the burgher officers, but is acquitted by the fiscal, iii 266; afterwards enters the English service, iii 267
de Lima, Antonio Rodrigues, prazo holder: account of, i 482
de Lima, Dom Paul: is wrecked in the *São Thomé*, i 379; dies at Manisa's kraal, i 383
de Lima, Dom Rodrigo: in 1515 visits Abyssinia as ambassador of the king of Portugal, i 210
Limpopo River: in 1498 is visited by Vasco da Gama, i 220; in 1544 the lower course is explored by Lourenço Marques, i 298; a vessel is seized by the Bantu and plundered at, i 382

Linnes, Cornelis: in June 1691 becomes landdrost of Stellenbosch, ii 364; in January 1695 retires

van Linschoten, Jan Huyghen: particulars concerning, i 395, 397 to 401, and 432

Little Berg River: in 1658 is first visited by Europeans, ii 76

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Lobo, Rodrigo: as a vassal of the kiteve holds the island of Maroupé, i 345

Lockyer, C.: note on a book written by, iii 386

Locusts: are eaten by the Bantu, i 150; do great damage in the monomotapa's territory, i 312; in 1746 are a great plague in the Cape Colony, iii 16 and 17; occasional destruction caused by, iii 302

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van Loon, Rev. H.: in 1694 and 1695 acts for a short time as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 375; proceeds to Europe, ib.; in April 1700 returns with the appointment of clergyman of Stellenbosch, ii 393; in June 1704 dies, ii 395

Lopes, Jeronymo, Dominican friar: mention of, i 343

Lourenço Marques, bay of: see Delagoa Bay

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Lupata, gorge of: mention of, i 196

Luspance, Bantu chief: treats wrecked Portuguese kindly, i 385 and 386

Lutheran church in Capetown: in 1780 is established, iii 166

Luxemburg, regiment of: from May 1782 to February 1783 is stationed at the Cape, iii 143

Luzios, small vessels used on the East African coast, i 187

van Lynden, Jan Nicolaas: in February 1789 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as fiscal independent at the Cape, iii 187; in June 1791 returns secretly to Europe through fear of the colonists, iii 189

de Macedo, Sebastião, captain of Mozambique: mention of, i 411; sends specimens of rich silver ore to Lisbon, i 434

Mackay, George R.: references to researches by, i 2

Maclear, Sir Thomas, astronomer royal at the Cape of Good Hope: in 1840 to 1848 verifies De la Caille's measurement of an arc of the meridian, iii 29

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Magadosho, town of: foundation of, i 182; description of, i 191
Magadu, Bavenda chief: particulars concerning, i 61
de Magalhães, Francisco: is sent as an envoy to the monomotapa, but dies on the journey, i 331
de Magalhães, Pedro Barreto: in 1505 accompanies Pedro d'Anaya to build a fort at Sofala, i 262; after the fort is built sails for India as commodore of three ships, i 266; loses his own ship at Kilwa, i 267; on the 1st of March 1510 is killed by Hottentots near Table Valley, i 257
de Magdalena, João, Dominican friar: mention of, i 500
le Maire, Isaac: in May 1611 visits Table Bay, and leaves men there to kill seals and whales, i 421
Maize: in 1658 is introduced into the Cape Colony from the west coast of Africa, ii 87
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Ma Matiwane: torture of on charge of witchcraft, i 103
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de Man, Andries: in June 1684 becomes secunde at the Cape, ii 267
de Man, Roelof: in August 1655 is secretary to the council of policy at the Cape, ii 50; in April 1657 becomes secunde, ii 68; in March 1663 dies, ii 135
Mandeville, Sir Jobn: note on book of, i 394
von Manger, Rev. J. H.: arrives in South Africa as clergyman of Graaff-Reinet, but for some time is detained in Capetown, iii 175; in October 1792 becomes clergyman of Graaff-Reinet, ib.
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Manhoesa, half-breed Arab at Sena: particulars concerning, i 322
Manika, district of: becomes independent of the monomotapa, i 296; further mention of, i 315 and 336
Manisa, dynastic title of the chief of a tribe on the northern shore of Delagoa Bay: mention of, i 111 and 382, and ii 470
Manisa River: mention of, i 299 and 382
Mankadan, Sybrand: in 1683 is appointed first schoolmaster at Stellenbosch, ii 259; also performs the duties of sick-comforter, ii 260
Ma Ntati: reference to the march of the destructive horde under, i 352
Manuel the Fortunate: in 1495 ascends the throne of Portugal, i 211; resolves to send an expedition to follow up the discoveries of Bartholomeu Dias, ib.; in 1501 adds to his titles that of Lord of

the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, i 235; in December 1521 dies, i 290

Manufactories of stone implements: particulars concerning, i 2

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Manuza: is made monomotapa by the Portuguese, i 458 to 463; declares himself a Portuguese vassal, i 458

Maphumbo, chief of a clan at Delagoa Bay: references to, ii 463, 470, and 476

Marauding party of Europeans in 1702: account of, ii 396

Marecos, Francisco: acts for a short time as eighth captain of Sofala, i 288

Maria, Dutch ship: in 1788 is wrecked at Plettenberg's Bay, iii 196

Mariana, Dona, wife of Guterre de Monroy: is wrecked in the *São Thomé*, i 379

Marichal, French ship: in 1660 is wrecked in Table Bay, ii 102

de Maris Lobo, Antonio: is appointed controller of commerce in South-Eastern Africa, i 452

Maris, Pedro Usus, Dominican friar: mention of, i 342

Marnitz, Lieutenant: on the 7th of August 1795 makes a gallant stand at Muizenburg, iii 264; note on a manuscript history prepared by, iii 402

Maroupé, island of: is given by the kiteve to Rodrigo Lobo, i 345

Marques, Lourenço: explores Delagoa Bay, and opens up trade there, i 299

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Marriages in the Cape settlement: in the absence of a clergyman are celebrated before the secretary to the council of policy, ii 59 and 148

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dos Martyres, Aleixo, Dominican friar: mention of, i 463

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Mascarenhas, Antonio, son of Vasco Fernandes Homem: dies at Mozambique, i 318

Mascarenhas, Dom Philippe, captain of Mozambique: mention of, i 464

Mashona: particulars concerning the, i 63

Masikesi: is visited by Vasco Fernandes Homem, i 335

Masisa, Bantu chief: in 1722 cedes a tract of land to Portugal, iii 319

Mason and Dixon, English astronomers: visit the Cape and in June 1761 observe a transit of Venus, iii 45

Massacre of a party of Europeans at the kraal of the Xosa chief Palo: account of, ii 497

Masson, Francis: travels in the Cape Colony as a botanical collector, iii 391; note on the published account of his journeys, ib.

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Matole, chief of a clan at Delagoa Bay: mention of, ii 476

Matrimonial court: in 1676 is established at the Cape, ii 238

Matuzianye: rebels against the monomotapa, i 436 to 439

Mauritius, island of: on the 7th of May 1638 is occupied by the Dutch East India Company, and is retained until 1658, when it is abandoned, ii 137; in 1664 it is reoccupied as a dependency of the Cape government, ii 138; particulars concerning, ii 139 and 225; in January 1710 it is abandoned by the Company after heavy losses there, ii 422; some of the inhabitants are removed to the Cape and others to Batavia, ii 423; later in the same year the island is occupied by the French, ib.

Maxwell, John: note on a published letter of, iii 384

Maynier, Honoratus Christian David: in 1789 becomes secretary of Graaff-Reinet, iii 178; with two others is appointed a commission to purchase peace from the Xosas, iii 179; in May 1793 is appointed acting landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, iii 216; is at variance with the frontier colonists, ib.; reports upon the causes of the second war with the Xosas, iii 225; in February 1795 is expelled by the people of Graaff-Reinet, iii 240

Mazimba: wars with the, i 353 to 358

Measure of capacity: an English gallon is equal to 4·54346 litres; a Cape legger is equal to 576 litres; a Cape muid is equal to 2·972 English bushels or 10·887 dekalitres

Measures of length and land used in the Cape Colony, ii 68; an English mile is equal to 1·60931493 kilometre; one Cape rood is equal to 3·78 metres

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Medical practice in the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, iii 304

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Medicines used by Bantu herbalists, i 99

van Meerhof, Pieter: in 1660 is one of the exploring party under Jan Danckert, ii 100; is journalist and second in command of the exploring expedition under Pieter Cruythof, ii 111; later in the same year is in command of an expedition to the Namaquas, ii 114; later still is second in command of the expedition under Pieter Everaert, ii 116; in 1662 accompanies the second expedition under Pieter Cruythof, ii 133; in 1663 accompanies the expedition under Jonas de la Guerre, ii 136; in 1664 marries the interpreter Eva, ii 157; when he is promoted to be a surgeon and overseer at Robben Island, ib.; in 1667 is appointed head of a trading and exploring expedition to Madagascar and the south-eastern coast of Africa, ii 167; and is murdered by blacks at the bay of Antongil, ib.

Meerland, Rev. R.: in February 1674 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 223; in March 1676 proceeds to Batavia, ii 240

Meermin, Cape packet: in 1765 is sent to Madagascar for slaves, iii 32; is seized by the slaves, ib.; further particulars, iii 33

Melinde: description of, i 191; in 1498 is visited by Vasco da Gama, i 226; becomes a permanent ally of Portugal, ib.; is visited by the fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, i 232; in 1500 is assisted by the Portuguese in its war with Mombasa, i 241; position of in 1506, i 274; further mention of, i 319 and 353

Melk, Martin, founder of the South African family of that name: builds the Lutheran church in Strand street, Capetown, and presents it to the congregation, iii 165

de Mello, Antonio: is an officer in Francisco Barreto's expedition, i 326; dies at Sena, i 332

de Mello, Dona Ursula: in 1622 and 1623 travels overland from the Kei to the Manisa river, iii 75

de Mello, Garcia: in 1586 is captain of Sofala, i 343

de Mello, Ruy: is an officer in Francisco Barreto's expedition, i 327 and 330

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de Mendonça, Dona Joanna: is wrecked in the *São Thomé*, i 380

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Schmelen, Rev. H.: in 1814 commences mission work in Great Namaqualand, i 69

Schmit, George, Moravian missionary: in July 1737 arrives at the Cape and commences evangelistic work at Baviaans Kloof, ii 518; upon baptizing converts meets with opposition from the state church, ii 519; in 1744 returns to Europe, ii 521

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Schools: particulars concerning the course of instruction in the public schools of the Cape Colony during the early years of the settlement, ii 154 and 260; after 1702 no other language than Dutch is taught in the school at Drakenstein, ii 395; the public schools are under the control of the consistories, though there are nominally two general supervisors, ii 426; in 1714 a high school is established in Capetown, in which instruction is given in the Latin and Dutch languages, but it meets with very slender support, ii 453; and in 1725 it is broken up, ii 495; the education of children on farms is entrusted to itinerant teachers, ii 512; in 1793 a high school is again opened in Capetown, and a considerable sum of money is raised by subscription for its maintenance, but shortly afterwards political events cause it to be closed, iii 198; effect of want of good schools in the country districts, iii 286

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Sebastião, Dom: on the 16th of June 1557 succeeds to the throne of Portugal at three years of age, i 302; in 1568 is declared of age and is crowned king of Portugal, i 314; resolves to create a vast dominion in South-Eastern Africa, ib.; submits to a board of conscience the question of lawfulness of warfare against the monomotapa, i 316; on the 4th of August 1578 dies in battle with the Moors of North Africa, i 339

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Second war between the Cape colonists and the Hottentots: in June 1673 the Cochoqua clan under Gonnema murders eight burghers and a slave forming a hunting party, and seizes their waggons and cattle, ii 212; a commando is thereupon sent against them, ii 213; while marching the commando receives intelligence that a division of Gonnema's people has surprised the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, plundered it, and murdered four white men, ib.; the commando endeavours to surprise one of Gonnema's kraals, but fails to do so, ii 214; it succeeds, however, in capturing eight hundred head of horned cattle and nine hundred sheep, and in shooting ten or twelve Hottentots, ib.; the clan of the Chainouquas under Captain Klaas and the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas join the Europeans, ib.; they succeed in capturing four of Gonnema's followers, who are tried by a court martial and executed by their captors, ib.; owing to an epidemic, hostilities are now suspended for some months, ii 215; but in April 1674 a combined force of soldiers, burghers, and Hottentots is sent against Gonnema's people, and without loss of life on either side eight hundred head of horned cattle and four thousand sheep are captured, ii 216; after this Gonnema and his people keep out of sight until November 1675, when they surprise the kraals of the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas at the Tigerberg, kill several of the inmates, and drive off a good many cattle, ii 217; assistance is immediately sent to the Company's allies, and Gonnema is followed up, when fifteen of his people are killed, but the cattle are not recovered, ib.; in November 1676 a commando marches against Gonnema, but does not succeed in finding him, ii 231; it, however, manages to punish those of his people who destroyed the post at Saldanha Bay, by killing several of them and capturing all their cattle, ii 232; in June 1677 Gonnema sends messengers to ascertain if peace cannot be established, ib.; the governor and council entertain the overture favourably, ib.; thereupon three of the principal men of the clan visit the castle, and peace is formally concluded, ii 233

Second war between the Cape colonists and the Xosas: in March 1789 the chiefs Langa, Cungwa, and others of less note cross the Fish river and take possession of the Zuurveld, iii 178; the farmers retire before the invaders, ib.; Landdrost Woeke calls out a commando, ib.; the government sends a commission to buy off the Kaffirs, iii 179; the invaders are retiring before the commando, and no action has yet taken place, when the instructions of the government are received by the landdrost, ib.; the commando is at once disbanded, ib.; the commissioner Wagener consents to the occupation of the Zuurveld by the Xosas during the pleasure of the government, iii 181; after this arrangement the Xosas in the colony steal cattle far and wide, iii 217; in May 1793 a reprisal is made upon a kraal by a party of farmers under Barend Lindeque, ib.; a few days later the Xosas spread over the whole of the coast belt as far as the Zwartkops, burning, plundering, and murdering, ib.; they place the spoil in safety with their friends beyond the Fish river, iii 218; a commando is raised, and under the landdrost Maynier penetrates Kaffirland as far as the Buffalo river, iii 221; a few cattle are recovered, but very little harm is done to the enemy, iii 222; a visit is paid by Mr. Maynier to Ndlambe, who professes to be friendly, although many of his people are known to have taken part in the devastation of the colony, and some of the farmers' cattle are seen in his herds, ib.; Mr. Maynier professes to believe Ndlambe's assurances of friendship, and the farmers in consequence abandon all hope, ib.; some fruitless movements backwards and forwards in the Zuurveld are made, ib.; and in November 1793 an arrangement is concluded by Mr. Maynier and those who act with him, which the government terms a restoration of peace, but which gives to the Xosas all the fruits of victory, iii 224

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Sena, village of: particulars concerning, i 196, 297, 309, 322, 326, 330, 331, 332, 333, 346, 347, 357, 358, 455, 467, 474, 484, 487, and 491; in 1701 narrowly escapes destruction in a rising of the Bantu, iii 318

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Serrurier, Jan Jacob: is appointed fiscal independent at the Cape, and in April 1783 assumes duty, iii 145; in May 1785 dies, iii 187

Serrurier, Rev. Jan Pieter: in March 1760 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, iii 163

Seventy-eighth British regiment of the line: in 1795 assists in wresting the Cape Colony from the Dutch, iii 263

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Sheik Joseph: in 1682 takes an active part in the Bantamese civil war, ii 262; in 1683 surrenders to the Dutch forces, ii 263; in 1694 is banished to the Cape, ib.; in 1699 dies, ib.; his tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage for the Mohamedans, and is so to the present day, ib.

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da Silveira, Dom Gonçalo, leader of the first mission party in South Africa: account of, i 305; on the 16th of March 1561 is murdered by order of the monomotapa, i 312

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Simond, Rev. P.: in 1687 is engaged as clergyman for the French refugees, ii 332; in August 1688 arrives in South Africa and is stationed at Stellenbosch, ii 338; in 1694 moves to Drakenstein, ii 349; in May 1702 returns to Europe, ii 394

Simons, Cornelis Joan, the first independent fiscal in the Cape Colony: in 1689 is appointed, ii 361; in November 1694 proceeds to Batavia, ii 375; in 1708 visits the Cape as commissioner, and makes many regulations, ii 420

Simon's Bay: in 1687 is examined and named, ii 327; in 1729 is carefully surveyed, ii 493; in 1742 becomes a port of call for ships during the winter months, ii 521

Simonstown: in 1743 is founded, ii 521; a few years later is much enlarged, iii 52; in June 1795 is abandoned by the Dutch troops and inhabitants, and is occupied by the English forces, iii 257 and 260

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S. José, Portuguese ship: in December 1794 is wrecked at Camp's Bay, iii 197

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Slicher, Rev. L.: in 1714 arrives at the Cape as a midshipman and is appointed rector of a high school, ii 453; in February 1723 becomes second clergyman of the Cape congregation, ib.; in July 1725 is transferred to Drakenstein, ii 495; in June 1730 dies, ib.

Sluysken, Abraham Josias: since 1765 has been in the Company's service in India, iii 235; arrives at the Cape on his way to Europe, and is appointed commissioner-general by Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius, ib.; in September 1793 assumes the duty, iii 236; causes some small forts to be built in Simonstown and round Hout Bay, iii 238; in June 1795 is invited by the commanders of a British force to place the colony in their hands, iii 249; declines to do so, iii 250; makes a show of defending the colony until the 16th of September, when he capitulates, iii 273; returns to Europe in a cartel ship, iii 275; and is pronounced by the National Assembly at the Hague to have acted correctly in the defence of the colony, iii 277; note on a book complied by, iii 401

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le Sueur, J. J. : in August 1763 is appointed landdrost of Stellenbosch, iii 53 ; in June 1769 is promoted and removed, ib.
de Suffren, Acting Commodore Pierre André : in 1781 is sent from France with a strong force to operate against the English in India and to protect the Cape Colony from Commodore Johnstone, iii 135 ; attacks the English fleet at Porto Praya, ib. ; is beaten off, iii 137 ; but sails to the Cape, iii 138 ; which he reaches in time to put in a state of defence before Johnstone's appearance off the coast, iii 139
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Verburg, Frederick: in April 1652 arrives in South Africa, ii 17; in October 1652 is sent to inspect Saldanha Bay, ii 27; in September 1653 visits Saldanha Bay again to ascertain particulars concerning a French ship that has been there more than six months collecting a cargo of sealskins and oil, ii 36; in April 1654 is sent to St. Helena to obtain a supply of provisions from the ships assembling there, ii 42; in June 1654 becomes secunde, ib.; shortly afterwards visits Madagascar and procures a quantity of rice, ii 43; in 1655 visits Madagascar the second time, is shipwrecked there, and dies of fever, ii 52

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Voltelen, Rev. C. B.: arrives in South Africa, and in August 1750 assumes duty as clergyman of Zwartland's church, ii 517; in November 1755 is transferred to Capetown, iii 163; in April 1758 dies, ib.

de Voocht, Rev. A.: in February 1667 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Cape congregation, ii 171; in February 1674 proceeds to Batavia, ii 224

de Voocht, Rev. J.: from March to November 1666 acts as clergyman of the Cape, ii 152; then proceeds to Batavia, ii 171

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Wine: in 1659 is first made in South Africa, ii 90; before 1670 samples are sent to Batavia, ii 179; efforts made to improve its quality, ii 319 and iii 8; efforts to procure a market for ordinary Cape, ii 445 and iii 1 and 41; the Cape colonists obtain permission to send it to Holland for sale, iii 171; price of in Capetown in 1690-1700, ii 357; taxes upon, ii 436, iii 1, 38, and 42; ready sale of Constantia, ii 446

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Wreede, George Frederick: in 1660 is a volunteer in the exploring expedition under Jan Danckert, ii 110; studies the Hottentot language, and is employed as an interpreter, ii 139; prepares a vocabulary of Dutch and Hottentot words, ii 140; is rewarded by the directors, ib.; in 1665 is sent from the Cape to form a victualling station at Martin Vaz, ib.; finds only bare rocks there, ib.; returns to the Cape, ib.; is appointed commander of the island of Mauritius, ii 141; in 1668 is reduced by Commander Van Quaelberg to the rank of a soldier, ii 176; but is reinstated by the directors as commander of Mauritius, ib.; and in February 1672 is drowned there, ii 177

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Wynberg: in 1658 a farm near the source of the Liesbeek river—now called Protea—is named the Wynberg, on account of Commander Van Riebeek planting a large vineyard there, ii 87; but the name Wynberg is shortly afterwards transferred to the high ground on the south and east, and the farm is then called Boschheuvel, ib.

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